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OF

ETHIOPIA.

WHEREIN,

Among other things, The Two Great Splendid ROMAN MISSIONS into That Empire are placed in their true Light.

To which are Added,

An Epitome of the *Dominican* History of That Church. And an Account of the Practices and Conviction of *MARIA of the Annunciation*, the Famous NUN of *Lisbon*.

Composed

By MICHAEL GEDDES, D.D. Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of SARUM.

LONDON:

Printed for Ri. Chiswell, at the *Rose and Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. MDCXCVI.

To the Right Honourable

AND

Right Reverend Father in God,

HENRY,

Lord Biſhop of *LONDON*;

One of the Lords of His MAJESTY's Privy Council.

May it pleaſe Your Lordſhip,

THE following Book being the Hiſtory of a Church that was never at any time under the *Papal* Yoke, and which when its Princes, inſtead of being Nurſing Fathers, ſtruggled hard of late years to have brought its Neck under it; never reſted until it had both broke that inſupportable Yoke aſunder, and ſecured it ſelf from ever having the like Attempts made again upon its Liberty: To whom can it ſo naturally go for Patronage, as to a Noble and Great Prelate, who had the Courage, when Popery was in the heighth of its laſt

Triumph among us, in his own ſingle Perſon to give it the firſt Publick Check that it met with (a kindneſs the Church and State of *England* will, I hope, never forget, I am ſure they ought not), and who has furthermore, for near theſe Twenty Years, made it his chief Study, by *creating* a right underſtanding betwixt all Antipapal Churches, to unite them all into one Body; that ſo they may be the better able to withſtand their common Enemy, who is ſtill indefatigable in his Endeavours to bring all Churches yet into bondage.

Which Conſideration, together with the great Obligation the Compiler of this Hiſtory is under, to neglect no opportunity of owning to the World how much he has been beholden to your Lordſhip; as they have put me upon dedicating it to You, ſo I cannot but hope, that a Perſon of Your Lordſhip's High Birth, and admirable Benignity and ſweetneſs of Temper, will both pardon my Preſumption in ſo doing, and paſs by any weakneſſes that may diſcover themſelves in the Compoſure; and alſo accept it as a ſmall Teſtimony of my being,

Your Lordſhip's

Devoted, and moſt humble Servant,

Michael Geddes.

THE PREFACE.

WHEN *in the Preface to the Synod of* Diamper, *I promised, from* Portuguese Relations, *to give some Account of the Churches which were never within the Bounds of the* Roman Empire; *I intended to have begun with the Church of* Mosul, *or* Babylon; *but not having hitherto been able to procure those Informations of it which I had then some reason to expect; and having, during my nine Years Residence at* Lisbon, *furnished my self with all the* Portuguese *Books which do any ways treat of* Ethiopia, *I was perswaded by some Friends to alter my mind, and to begin with* That Church, *which of all others, till within these Two hundred years, had had the least Communication with the* Roman; *and which, notwithstanding all the pains its Princes and the Jesuits have been at of late, to bring her under the Bondage of the Papacy, has, tho with a terrible struggle, maintained her Primitive Liberty and Independency on* that Ambitious *and* Usurping See; *and does to this day, with greater Zeal than ever, assert them.*

And that I may not seem Actum agere *in publishing an History of* Ethiopia *after the Learned Mr.* Ludolphus: *I am to acquaint the Reader, That whereas the two great Splendid* Roman Missions *into that Empire, are the most remarkable things that have come to our knowledge in the History of that Church; so if some of my Learned Friends are not mistaken, Those Two Missions, with*

all their Steps and Circumſtances, are here placed in a truer Light than they were ever ſeen in before.

And tho I will not promiſe that my Conjectures *upon the dark and hidden things of thoſe* Miſſions *are all true; as who indeed that makes many, and eſpecially in matters which have been induſtriouſly diſguiſed by men of Art, will venture to promiſe? yet this I can ſafely ſay, that I have not made one but what I thought I had ſome ground for; And as to* matters of fact, *I do aſſure the Reader, that in the matter of the* Miſſions, *I have ſet down few or none, but what I had out of* Roman-Catholick Writers, *and licenſed by the* Inquiſition, *and who for the moſt part were* Jeſuits.

There are Four things, *whereof, if I am not miſtaken, this Hiſtory will abundantly ſatisfy the Impartial Reader.*

The Firſt *is, That the* Roman Miſſionaries, *but eſpecially the* Jeſuits, *having neither the gift of Miracles, nor of Patience, to wait for the ſlow iſſues of the old method of converting Nations by preaching the Faith to them, are every where (where they can come at them) for diſpatching it with* Dragoons, *or by ſome other violent and ſanguinary way. The* Jeſuits *being all to a man of the ſame opinion with their great Apoſtle of the* Indies, Francis Xaveir, *whoſe Maxim, as* Navarette *informs us, was:* Mientras no eſtiuveron debaxo del Moſquete, no avia de ver Chriſtiano de provecho; *that is to ſay,* Miſſionaries without Muskets do never make Converts to any purpoſe: *The truth of which Maxim,* John Bolunte, *a Miſſionary Jeſuit, tells us, is confirmed by univerſal Experience.* Ni en el Braſil *(ſaith he)* Peru, Mexico, Florida, Philipinas, y Maluca, ha havido Chriſtianidad,

ſtianidad, ni Converſion, ſinla ſombra de vel Poder Secular; *that is*, Neither in the Braſils, Peru, Mexico, Florida, the Philipins, or Maluca, have any Converſions been made, without the help of the Secular Power; *affirming in another place of his Book*, Que en nenguna parte ſe ha hecho fruto ſin Armas, *that is*, That Miſſionaries have done nothing any where, without Military Arms.

The Second *is, That there is no Tyranny in the World equal to that which the* Roman Prelates *(where they have the Secular Arm at their command) do continually exerciſe, and that without the common relentings of humanity, upon all ſorts of people, that will not turn to their Religion.*

The Third *is, That* Miſſionaries, *when ever they have inſpired a Prince, the main Body of whoſe Subjects are Anti-papiſts, with a bigotry to introduce their Religion into his Country, do commonly before they have done with him, either run him out of breath, or make him run his head againſt a wall.*

The Fourth *is, That* Ambition *did very early take poſſeſſion of the* Jeſuits Order, *that* Society *not being above ten years ſtanding in the World, when it had engroſſed a Miſſion to it ſelf, which did promiſe both greater and cheaper Honours to its Miniſters than ever any* Miſſion *had done before.*

The clear diſcovery of which Truths, together with that of the true Spirit and Temper of Miſſionaries, *and the Precipices they put Princes upon, who are ſo unhappy as to be their Converts, muſt make* This Hiſtory *to be of ſome uſe to all* Proteſtant *Countreys, which may therein, as in a glaſs ſee, what treatment they are to expect from Popery, when ever the Supream Power is in its hands.*

The Preface.

I have as an Appendix, given the Reader an Epitome of the Dominican *History of* Ethiopia, *writ by a Friar of that Order, and printed at* Valentia, *in the Year* 1610. *and not only licenſed by the* Inquiſition, *and all the other Regular and Secular Licenſers of the Dioceſs, but recommended likewiſe by them to the World, as a true, uſeful, and edifying Hiſtory: As alſo a Full Account of the Practiſes and Conviction of* Maria *of the* Annunciation, *the Famous* Lisbon *Nun; which I take to be two ſuch Originals in their ſeveral kinds, as are not eaſily to be met with.*

A Catalogue of the Authors out of whom this Hiſtory was compoſed.

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Ruffinus.
Philoſtorgius.
Elmirinus.
Paulus Venetus.
Damianus Goer.
Zaga Zabo.
Francis Alvarez.
The Patriarch *Bermudes.*
John de Barros.
Antony de Gourea.
Oſorius.
Pereira.
Thomas à Jeſu.
Wunſleb.
Job Ludolphus.
Baronius.
Spondanus.

Theſe that follow were all Jeſuits.

Maffeius.
Gueriro.
Pays.
Godinus.
Almeyda.
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THE

Church-History

OF

Habaſſia, or *Ethiopia Alta.*

HABASSIA, or *Ethiopia Alta*, or *Ethiopia ſuper Egyptum*, which are all the ſame, according to the Neweſt and beſt Accounts we have of it, is 9 Degrees in length, reaching from *Bergamo* in the 8th Degree of Northern Latitude, to *Focay*, which is in the 17th Degree of the ſame Latitude; and about 140 Leagues in Breadth, taking it from the Shoar of the *Red Sea* to the Banks of *Nile*. The Climate of *Ethiopia*.

The King or Emperor of *Habaſſia*, is called the *Naggaſi*, that is, the Lord or Ruler, and not *Preſter*, *Presbyter*, nor *Preto John*, which Title was firſt given him by the *Portugueſes*, upon their imagining him, when they firſt diſcovered this Empire, to have been the great Chriſtian *Preſter John*, who had been ſo much talked of, and ſo little known in *Europe*; not The true Title of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*.

 conſi-

considering, that all that had spoke of that Great Prince, had placed his Empire in *Asia*, to the North of *China*, and not in *Africa*: And as to *Zaga Zabi*, calling him in his Relation published at *Lisbon*, *Precious John*, in that he play'd the Embassador, rather than the Historian, not caring to undeceive *Europe* at the expence of a Title which made his Master's Name much greater in it, than it would have been otherwise.

Now though our Geographers have in their Maps been very liberal to this Emperor, having extended his Empire 30 or 40 Degrees from South to North, his Neighbours have not been so kind to him, who within these 100 years have very much contracted it.

The Provinces of *Ethiopia*.

The Countries he is at present in possession of, are *Tigre*, *Gojam*, *Amhara*, *Dembya*, *Bagemeder*, *Enarea*, part of *Zoa*, *Mazaga*, *Salem*, *Ogara*, *Abergal*, *Holcait*, *Salgade*, *Cemen*, *Saloa*, *Ozeca*, and *Doba*: The Countries that have been taken from him, are *Anget*, *Doaro*, *Ogge*, *Balli*, *Adea*, *Alam-ale Oxela*, *Ganz*, *Betazamora*, *Gurague*, *Sugama*, *Baharguma*, *Catrbut*, *Boxa*, *Gumer*, *Couch*, *Damota*, *Mora-Aura*, *Habera*, *Oyfal*, *Guedem*, *Marabet*, *Manz*, *Beramo*, with all the Ports he had formerly on the Coast of the *Red Sea*. *Tigre*, which is the chief Kingdom in the *Habassian* Empire, begins at *Matzua*, a small Island not far from *Arkiko*, a Sea-port Town in the 15th Degree of the Northern Latitude; it is 90 Leagues in length, and 50 in breadth, and is by much the most Fertil and Trading Countrey in *Ethiopia*, for which reason the Jesuits fixed their first and greatest

greatest residence in a Town called *Maegoga*, or *Fremona*, which stands near the middle of it.

The Kingdom of *Bagemder* lieth to the North of *Tigre*, and reacheth to *Amhara*, and to the Banks of *Nile*; it is about 60 Leagues in length, and at present not above 20 in breadth, several Provinces having lately been torn from it, which when united, made its breadth to be near equal to its length.

The Kingdom of *Gojam* is 50 Leagues in length, and 30 in breadth, and is in a manner encompassed by the River *Nile*, whose Head is near the middle of it, in a Countrey called *Sacahala*; it is either the Island of *Meroe*, so much celebrated by the Ancients, or else there was never any such place.

The Head of *Nile*, which was so long reckoned among the Chief Secrets of Nature, is now known certainly to be in a Lake in this Kingdom of *Gojam*; the Lake which gives birth to it, is not above a Stones throw over, and so full of Bushes, that in the Summer one may step upon them to two deep and clear Fountains, which are near the midde of it, and not 40 yards from one another; the Streams of which Fountains, as is visible from the Verdure of the *Herbage*, doth run under ground for near half a mile, where they break out; and being join'd, do make a good large Brook; and then bending Northward, after a Course of 15 Leagues, the River *Jama* runs into it; after which Conjunction it bends its course towards the East, and is presently joined by two Rivers more, whose names are *Kelti*, and

The original of *Nile*.

Branti; after this it runs directly East, till it enters the great Lake of *Dembea*, which is about 20 Leagues distant from its Head in a right Line; and without intermixing its water with those of the Lake, runs into the Channel it hath opened to it self on the North side of it.

A Description of the Lake of *Dembea*.

This Lake, which the *Habassins* call the Sea of *Dembea*, lieth in the Latitude of 13 Degrees and a half, and on its South-shore is about 20 Leagues in length, and on its North 35, not reckoning its windings, which make it a great deal more; near its middle, and where it is deepest, it may be about 10 or 12 Leagues over: Its Waters are very clear and wholsom; it abounds with Fish of all sorts, and has great herds of Sea-Horses, which come ashore daily and graze on the Plains; but for Snakes and Crockodiles it is as free from them, as it is from *Tritans* and *Mermaids*, by which it has been reported to be inhabited.

Divers great Rivers beside the *Nile* discharge themselves into this Lake, which is the common Receptacle of all the Prodigious Flouds of Rain which in the Winter Months do tumble down from the high Mountains of *Dembea*; and this Lake having no other source for this vast body of Water but the Channel of the *Nile*, it makes bold with that, and thereby increaseth its Stream prodigiously.

Islands in the Lake of *Dembea*.

The Lake of *Dembea* is adorned with One and twenty Islands, some of which are pretty large, namely that of *Dek*, which contains as much Arable Land as 40 Yoke of Oxen can plough; there are several Monasteries in seven

or

or eight of these Islands, which were anciently very great; they do all abound with Oranges, and other delicious Fruits. Even within *Habassia*, the *Nile* has some Cataracts, its first is near a place called *Depeqem*, which is about 9 or 10 Leagues above the Lake of *Dembea*; the second is 6 or 7 Leagues below it in the Kingdom of *Begamder*, at which it makes a prodigious noise; the fall of the first is about 50 Palms, and that of the second about twice or thrice as much.

The cause of the rising and falling of the *Thames* at *Oxford*, is not more certainly known, than that of the *Nile* in *Egypt* is now; for the Winter in *Ethiopia*, which is one continued Storm of Rain, being in the Months of *June*, *July* and *August*, by sending a vast body of water into the Lake of *Dembea*, which has no other vent for its Waters than the Channel of the *Nile*, doth swell that River to a prodigious heighth, all which Torrent of water being kept together by steep Mountains on both sides, until it comes down into *Egypt*, which is a flat open Countrey; it there expands it self, impregnating the Land thereof with its Mud, which was hindred from subsiding before by the unconceivable rapidity of that River, while it was pent in on all sides by high Mountains.

The true Cause of the rising of the *Nile*.

This is the true Cause of the rising of the *Nile*; which though the world would not, it seems, believe, was told by *Nearchus*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and others; neither is their calling them the Summer-Rains any Argument at all of those Learned Men having been ignorant

It was known by the Ancients. *Strab. lib.* 15. *Plin. lib.* 5. *c.* 9.

of the time of the Year when they fell, but rather the contrary; for notwithstanding the *Habassins* upon the account of those great Rains do reckon *June*, *July*, and *August*, their Winter Months, yet in *Egypt* and all other Places without the *Northern Tropick*, they are reckoned Summer.

Several great Rivers besides the *Nile* have their Fountains in *Ethiopia*.

Besides the *Nile*, there are several other great Rivers that rise in *Habassia*; namely, *Pacaza*, whose Head is in the Mountain of *Axgua*, in the Kingdom of *Angot*; and the River *Zabee*, which is much bigger and swifter than the *Nile*; it riseth in the Kingdom of *Narea*, and taking its Course *Southward* falls into the Sea at *Momboca*; *Haoa* is likewise bigger than the *Nile*; it riseth in the Kingdom of *Zaoa*, and running *North-East*, doth the same good office to the parched and thirsty Countries of *Adeld* and *Zegla*, that the *Nile* does to *Egypt*; and as the River *Maceb*, which riseth within Two Leagues of *Fremona* in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, does to the dry Province of *Derqhem*.

Now that Countries wherein it seldom or never rains, should have that great want thus supplied by the overflowing of Rivers, is a clear evidence both of the Goodness and Wisdom of Providence.

Habassia is reported by the Jesuits to abound with pure Gold; which we have reason to think was represented by them to be much finer and more plentiful than it really is, on purpose to prevent the Kings of *Portugal* and *Spain* growing weary of the great Charges of their Missions. Where the Land is Arable, it is said to produce good Wheat and Barley; and

and in ſeveral places to have Three Harveſts in a year. It produceth likewiſe Silk, which is gathered off the Buſhes, as it is in *India*; and in ſome places extraordinary Sugar Canes. Its Horſes and Cows, with which it is ſaid to be well ſtock'd, are much larger than the *Europeans*. It has alſo great ſtore of Lyons and Elephants, and thoſe of the beſt Caſt; but the Wild Beaſt that is the moſt remarkable in it, is the *Giratacahem*, that is to ſay, the *Smooth-head*, which is reported to be ſo tall, that a Man on Horſeback may ride under its Belly.

There is a great mixture of People in *Habaſſia*, from which the Countrey is ſaid by ſome to have had its Name.

There is a great mixture of People in *Ethiopia*.

As *Heathens*, *Jews*, and *Mahometans* of ſever Nations; but the Main Body of its People are *Chriſtians*. The *Jews* ſpeak *Hebrew*, or rather *Syriack*; the *Heathens* as many different Languages as there are Kingdoms; but the Court-Language, and which is ſpoke by all Perſons of any Quality, is the *Amehara*. The Empire does not deſcend to the Eldeſt Son, but to him whom the Emperor at his death is pleaſed to Name for his Succeſſor. The Emperors formerly kept their Court in the City of *Axum*, from which the *African Ethiopians* were commonly called *Axumites*; which is at preſent reduced to a Village of about a hundred Families. The Royal Arms of *Habaſſia* are a Lyon holding a Croſs, with this *Motto*, *The Lyon of the Tribe of* Judah *is Victorious*. I do but juſt mention theſe things, my Intention in this Work being to write the Eccleſiaſtical, and not the Natural or Civil Hiſtory of *Ethiopia*.

Of the Religion of the Habaſſins.

The Queen of *Sheba* is reported to have been Empreſs of *Ethiopia.*

IT is a conſtant Tradition among the *Habaſſins*, That the Queen of *Sheba* that went to Viſit *Solomon*, was Empreſs of their Countrey, whoſe Name, they ſay, was *Maqueda*; and who, within a few weeks after ſhe returned home, was delivered of a Son, Begat by *Solomon*, whom ſhe Named *Menileher.*

Menileher, ſo ſoon as he was of Age to undertake ſo long a Journey, was ſent by his Mother to *Jeruſalem* to receive his Father's Bleſſing, and to be Inſtructed by him in the Law of *Moſes*, and all other uſeful Sciences.

Her Son by *Solomon* is ſaid to have introduced Judaiſm into it.

Solomon having received his Son when he arrived at *Jeruſalem*, with great Tenderneſs and Affection, made him change the Name of *Menileher*, for that of *David*; and havingthoroughly Inſtructed him in the *Jewiſh* Religion, and made him promiſe to introduce it into his Empire, he diſmiſſed him with Noble Preſents, giving him alſo ſeveral Prieſts and Levites to take home with him to aſſiſt him in ſo good a Work. *David* being returned home, did with the help of the Prieſts and Levites, ſet immediately about introducing the *Moſaical* Law into his Empire, and was ſo ſucceſsful, that in a few years it was embraced by the whole Body of his People, and continued to be profeſſed by them, until the Publication of the

the Gospel among them. Upon which Fable, for I cannot look upon it as any other, they have built an hundred more, which are much fitter for a Legend than an History.

Neither is the *Habassins* having used Circumcision, any argument at all of their having been ever of the *Jewish* Law; since there is nothing more certain, than that that Rite was the ancient usage of the *Ethiopians*, and divers other Nations, who were always Enemies both to the *Jews* and their Religion.

And as the *Habassins* will have their Forefathers to have been of the *Jewish* Faith, from the days of *Solomon* till the Preaching of the Gospel; so they will have Christianity to have come among them early in the *Apostles* time.

It being a Tradition among them, That the *Eunuch* that was Baptized by *Philip* the Deacon, was Steward to their Empress; and who returning home after he was Christened, Converted his Mistress and her whole Empire to the Christian Faith, in the Profession whereof they have ever since continued stedfast. Which Story, notwithstanding I take it to be of a piece with that of the Queen of *Sheba* and her Son, yet this may be said for it, That it has a greater Air of probability than most of the Traditional Histories of the first Conversions of Countries.

The Eunuch that was baptized by *Philip*, is said to have been of this Countrey, and to have introduced Christianity into it.

What is known from History of the first Introduction of Christianity into *Ethiopia*, is, That in the beginning of the Fourth Century, one *Meropius*, a Christian Philosopher, going into *India* with Two of his Scholars, whose Names

Frumentius Bishop of *Axum*, was the Apostle of *Ethiopia.*

Names were *Frumentius* and *Aedesius*, had the misfortune to touch on the Coast of *Ethiopia*; where *Meropius* was inhumanly Murthered by the Natives, but his Two Scholars having their Lives spared, and being found to be Youths of fine Parts, as well as Beauty, they were carried to Court, where *Frumentius* was put into the Secretaries Office, and *Aedesius* into the Buttery.

When the Emperor, who had always been very kind to them, came to Die, he gave them both their Liberty; but as they were preparing to make use of it and return home, the Queen Regent was importunate with them to stay, and to undertake the Tutelage of her Son till he was of Age, which they having consented to, did during that time, write to all the *Roman* Merchants residing in the Ports of *Ethiopia*, that were Christians, to assemble together to Worship God, as they themselves, and the Converts they had made at Court, did Daily.

When their Pupil came to take the Administration of the Government upon himself, they both desired Leave to return home, which having obtained with great difficulty, they left *Ethiopia*; *Aedesius* went to *Tire* to live with his Relations; but *Frumentius* having a greater love for his Religion, repaired directly to *Alexandria*, with an intention to acquaint the Bishop thereof, who at that time was the Great *Athanasius*, with the footing Christianity had taken in *Ethiopia.*

St. *Athanasius*, who was overjoyed at this good news, having consulted with his Clergy what

what was fit to be done, perſuaded *Frumentius*, whom he obſerved to be a Perſon of great Zeal and Piety, to be Conſecrated a Biſhop by him, and to return into *Ethiopia* with that Character, to accompliſh a Work he had ſo happily begun; and accordingly he was Conſecrated a Biſhop by St. *Athanaſius*; and going back to *Ethiopia*, did in a ſhort time Convert both the Emperor and the main Body of his People to the Chriſtian Faith.

This Account of the Introduction of Chriſtianity into *Ethiopia*, is to be met with in the 9th. Chapter of the 1ſt. Book of *Ruffinus*, who ſaith he had not this Story from the chat of the People, but from *Aedeſius*'s own mouth, who was Ordained a Presbyter at *Tire*.

And as *Frumentius* was undoubtedly Orthodox as to the Doctrine of our Lord's Divinity when he was Conſecrated a Biſhop by St. *Athanaſius*; ſo the World coming afterwards to complain of its being turned *Arian*, could not ſhake his Conſtancy in the True Faith, as appears from *Conſtantius*'s Letters to the Princes of *Axum*, whoſe Names were *Abra* and *Azba*; which Letter I ſhall here ſet down as I find it in St. *Athanaſius*'s Apology to that Emperor.

Conſtantius's Letter to the Princes of *Axum*.

AS there is nothing we ſtudy ſo much as the knowledge of the Truth, ſo we reckon our ſelves obliged to recommend the ſame diligence and induſtry to all ſorts of people, that we may all think ſo of the Divinity, as to paſs our lives in hope, and without diſſention, concerning what is true and juſt.

Wherefore

Wherefore since we do think fit to extend this our Care to you no less than to the Romans, *we do enjoin you to maintain the same Doctrines with them in your Churches; and to that end to send Bishop* Frumentius *into* Egypt *with all possible expedition, there to be judged by the most Venerable* George, *and the other* Egyptian *Prelates, in whom is the Supreme Authority of Ordaining and Judging of Bishops. For unless you will pretend to be ignorant of what all the world knows, you must be sensible that* Frumentius *was consecrated by* Athanasius, *a man made up of wickedness, and who not being able in the least to vindicate himself as to any of the Crimes he stands charged withal, was thereupon deposed, and has since that turned a Vagabond, roving from one Countrey to another, as if he hoped to lose his Guilt by shifting his dwelling.*

In case Frumentius *should yield a ready obedience, and give a full account of the whole Conspiracy, so that it shall be certified that he does not dissent from the Ecclesiastical Laws, and the Faith that is now established, and it doth appear that he is a Person of a Good Life, he may then be ordained a Bishop; which at present he is not of Right.*

Whereas if he shall seek delays, and decline coming to Judgment, that will be an undeniable Proof of his having been seduced by the words of the most Profligate Athanasius; *as also of his acting impiously against God, and of his being involved in the same Crimes whereof* Athanasius *stands convicted: In which case if he should be suffered to go on without controul, as he will do all that he can to corrupt your People with his Wicked and Impious Words, and not only disturb and destroy the Church, and belch out Blasphemies against the Supreme God;*

so

ſo he will likewiſe bring Ruin and Deſtruction upon all Nations. Whereas if he could be perſuaded to come and converſe familiarly with Venerable George *and other Learned Men, he would reap great Benefits thereby, and return to his Biſhoprick well inſtructed in all Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.* God preſerve you, my moſt dear Brethren.

As this Letter is a clear demonſtration of the greatneſs of the *Arian* Rage againſt the Orthodox, which not being ſatisfied with having Perſecuted them with the utmoſt Barbarities in all parts of the *Roman* Empire, purſued them beyond its bounds; ſo ſuch a boundleſs Rage was never more conſpicuous in *Conſtantius*, or any other Perſecutor of the Profeſſors of the True Faith, than it was in a Modern Prince, who not being contented with having haraſs'd and deſtroyed ſeveral Thouſands of Proteſtant Families within his own Kingdom, did within theſe Ten Years write to all his moſt dear Brethren, *the Great Turk not excepted*, to drive all his Proteſtant Subjects, if they did not preſently turn *Roman* Catholicks, out of their Territories; or which was worſe, did by Solemnly withdrawing his Protection from them in Popiſh Countries, leave them at the mercy of the Inquiſition.

The *French* King's Rage againſt Proteſtants, ſuperior to that of the *Arians* againſt the Orthodox.

Baronius in his *Roman* Martyrology, according to his humour of multiplying Saints, has made Two of a ſingle *Frumentius*; for whereas in the Martyrology, it is ſaid among the *Indians*, for ſo the *Habaſſins* were called anciently, of St. *Frumentius*, who was there firſt a Captive, and afterwards Ordained a Biſhop by St. *Atha-*

St. *Athanasius*, and did propagate the Gospel thorough that Countrey; the Cardinal in his Notes adds, At the same time there lived another *Frumentius*, who was Bishop of *Axum* in *Egypt*; whereas *Axum* is in *Ethiopia*, and not in *Egypt*; and was the City *Frumentius* mentioned in the Martyrology was Bishop of.

Philostorgius, who was himself an *Arian*, speaking of *Theophilus Indus*, having been sent by *Constantius* on this Embassy, insinuates as if the *Ethiopians* had been turned by him to the *Arian* Sect. But *Philostorgius* being the only Historian that insinuates any such thing, we have little reason to believe it upon his bare word.

Nine Monks come into *Ethiopia*.

About the Year 480. Nine Monks are said to have been sent from *Rome* into *Ethiopia*; their Names were *Araguai* or *Michel*, *Alef*, *Gavi*, *Afe*, *Adimata*, *Cuba*, *Garima*, *Saham*, *Lebanos*, *Pantaleon*; the Patriarch *Mendez*, who quotes the *Chronicon Axumense* for this, truly observes, That by *Rome* here, is meant *Greece*; which after the *Roman* Emperors had fixed their Court in it, was called in these remote parts by that name; but the *Dominicans* in their History of *Ethiopia*, of which the Reader will meet with an Epitome in the Appendix, will have all these Monks, though dead near a Thousand Years before *Dominick* was born, to have been Friers of his Order sent from Old *Rome*, and having turned *Adimata*, whom they call *Imata*, into a Woman; they have made her likewise a Holy Sister of their Order that accompanied the Eight Brothers in their Mission.

Metaphrastes,

Metaphraſtes, and after him the whole herd of Legendaries, do ſpeak of one *Elesbean* a Chriſtian King of *Ethiopia* in the time of *Juſtin* the Emperor; of whom, and of his having Vanquiſhed a *Jewiſh* Tyrant in *Arabia*, who had been a Cruel Perſecutor of his Chriſtian Subjects, they have framed a tedious blind Story, that is not fit to be offered to any Reader that has not a Legendary Noſe.

But as moſt Fables have ſomething of Hiſtory for their foundation, ſo if this of *Elisbean* has any, it muſt be the followiug Hiſtory that is met with in *Procopius*'s *Perſian* War.

Juſtinian the Emperor being engaged in a War with the *Perſians* in the Year 530. ſent one *Julian* Embaſſador to the King of the *Axumites*, or the *African Ethiopians*, and to the King of the *Homerites*, a Nation Inhabiting the *Aſiatick* Coaſt of the *Red-Sea* that is oppoſite to *Ethiopia*, to engage them, being Chriſtians, to joyn with him againſt the *Perſians*, the common Enemy of their Religion.

Juſtinian ſends an Embaſſy into Ethiopia.

The King of *Ethiopia*'s Name at that time was *Helleſteus*, who a few years before had out of Zeal for Chriſtianity, the Chriſtian *Homerites* having complained to him of their being miſerably oppreſſed by the *Jews* and *Heathens* they lived among, croſſed the *Red-Sea* with a Numerous Fleet and Army, and having in a pitch'd Battel Defeated and Killed the King of the *Homerites*, who had been a Cruel Perſecutor of Chriſtians, he advanced one *Eſimetheus*, an *Homerite* Chriſtian to the Throne,

Throne, but upon Condition that he and his Succeſſors for ever ſhould pay a yearly Tribute to the Crown of *Ethiopia*.

The buſineſs of the Embaſſy.

The main thing propoſed by the Ambaſſador to the *Ethiopian* for the incommoding of the *Perſians*, was to open a Trade for Silk to the *Indies*, which the *Romans*, who uſed to buy thoſe Silks of the *Perſians*, would promiſe to take off his Merhants hands: But for the *Homerites*, the Ambaſſador deſired *Eſimethus*, who was their King at that time, to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive with their Neighbours the *Madaans*, who were *Sarazens*; and having joined their Armies, for to invade *Perſia*. The Kings did both promiſe to do what the *Romans* had deſired of them; but when they came to execution, they found their parts not to be feaſible; the Silks that were brought by the *Indians* being all conſtantly bought up by the *Perſian* Merchants, who lay much nearer to them than the *Ethiopians*; and for the *Homerites*, the vaſt Deſerts they were to paſs thorough before they could come at the *Perſians*, diſcouraged them, at this time, from attempting it, though King *Abraham* did attempt it afterwards, but with no ſucceſs.

The *Homerites* conquered by the *Ethiopians*, their Deliverers.

But as it is the common Fate of Nations, that invite their Neighbours into their Countrey, to be conquered by their Deliverers, ſo it fared with the *Homerites* at this time; for the Servants, and Thieving part of the *Ethiopian* Army, finding *Arabia* a much better Country than their own, they reſolved to remain where they were; and not being long con-

contented to live among the *Homerites* as Inmates, they set up to be their Masters; and having by force of Arms deposed *Esimetheus*, they bestowed the Crown upon one *Abraham* a Christian, but who had formerly been a Slave to a *Roman* Merchant that resided at the Port of *Adel* in *Ethiopia*.

Esimetheus made King of the *Homerites*, deposed by the *Habassine* Army, which put *Abraham* in his place.

Helleneseus having received Advice of the Pranks his Subjects, that remained in *Arabia*, were playing, dispatched 3000 Soldiers thither to chastise their Insolence, and restore his Creature *Esimetheus* to his Royal Dignity; which those Troops were so far from doing, that having been corrupted by some Emissaries sent among them by *Abraham* so soon as they landed, when they came to engage the Rebels, after having slain their Chief Commander, who was a Prince of the Blood, they all went over to them, with a Resolution to stand by *Abraham* to the last.

Helleneseus being much troubled at this Loss, sent a greater Army than the former against *Abraham*, which coming to blows, was totally routed by him; after which *Helleneseus* growing weary of the Charge of the War, gave it over, leaving the unfortunate *Esimetheus* to his unkind Stars.

The *Ethiopians* send an Ambassador to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*.

Elmicinus, in his *Sarazen* History, reports, That in the 39*th* year of the *Hegira*, which is 659 of Our Lord, an Ambassador was sent from *Ethiopia* to *Simon Syrus*, the *Jacobite* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to intreat him to ordain them a Bishop, and some Presbyters; which the Patriarch having, I know not for what reason, deny'd to do, the Ambassador com-

plained of him to *Adulmelius* the *Sarazen* King of *Egypt*, who commanded the Patriarch to ordain him as many as he desired; but the Ambassador did so highly resent *Symon*'s denial, that when he offered him his Service, he would not make use of him, but employed another Bishop; which was the cause of great Disturbances in the Church.

James the *Abuna* of *Ethiopia* deposed by the Queen, and restored by the King afterwards.

In the 561*st* year of *Diocletian*, which is the 845*th* of our Lord, saith the same Historian, there was a Bishop in *Ethiopia* whose name was *James*, whom, the Queen, taking advantage of her Husband's absence in the Wars, banished *Ethiopia*, substituting another Bishop in his room, for which the Kingdom was plagued with a great Drought, and Pestilence; but the King returning home, and being much dissatisfied with the Queen for what she had done, sent to the Patriarch of *Egypt*, whither the deposed Prelate was retired, to command him back to his Province; which the Patriarch did, and the Bishop, when he return'd, was received with the general joy of the whole People.

A Tribute laid on the Patriarch of *Alexandria* by the Calif of *Egypt*.

In the Eighth year of *Chalifatus Mutamidi*, or as others will have it, in his Seventh year, which was the 265*th* year of the *Hegira*, one *Michael* being Patriarch of the *Alexandrian Jacobites*, he had a Tribute of 20000 Crowns laid upon him; for the advancing of which Sum, he was obliged to sell to the *Jews* the fourth part of all the Churches in *Alexandria*, and the Lands belonging to him in *Habassia*, as also the Church in the Neighbourhood of *Malaca* in *Cosvoim*, in the City of *Misra*, and

and to tax every Christian at a *Kirati* yearly; all which amounted to but half the Sum of the Tribute.

In the 807*th* year of the *Martys*, which is the 1165*th* of Christ, the *Nile* being extreamly low in *Egypt*, the King thereof, whose name was *Mustausirus*, sent the Patriarch *Michael* with rich Presents to the King of *Ethiopia*, who having received the Patriarch with great respect, did, at his request, order the *Nile* to be turned into its old Channel again, out of which he had diverted it; whereupon the *Nile* rose in one night to its usual heighth in *Egypt*, to the great joy of the King and the whole Countrey, who, when the Patriarch returned home, did him great honours.

The *Nile* diverted from coming down to *Egypt*; and turned into its old Channel again upon the Intercession of the Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Paulus Venetus reports, that in the year 1258. an *Habassin* King having been hindered by his Councellors from going in person to *Jerusalem*, did send a Bishop thither, with rich Offerings, who, was not only robbed of all he had as he passed thorough the Kingdom of *Aden*, but upon his refusal to turn *Mahometan*, was sent home with a mark of infamy upon his Body; at which barbarous Treatment the *Habassin* was so much incensed, that having got together a great Army, he marched against that *Sarazen* Tyrant; and having beat him in a pitched Battel, and made great Desolations in his Countrey for some Weeks, he returned home laden with Spoils and Honours.

The King of *Habassia* victorious over the King of *Aden*.

Haiton Armenus in his Directions to the Christians, how to recover the *Holy Land*, adviseth them to write to the King of the *Nubians*, meaning the *Habassins*, to invade

Egypt with a numerous Army, which would divert the *Sarazens* from coming with their whole force againſt them into *Syria*.

When, or whereſoever the *Arabick* Canons, falſly attributed to the firſt Council of *Nice*, were made, the 36*th* of them relates wholly to the Biſhop of *Ethiopia*, and runs as follows,

The 7th place in a General Council given to the *Abuna* of *Ethiopia* by the *Arabick* Canons of the Council of *Nice*.

THE Ethiopians *have no power to create or chuſe a Patriarch, whoſe Prelate muſt be rather under the Juriſdiction of the Patriarch of* Alexandria; *or in caſe they ſhould come at any time to have one among them in the place of Patriarch, and who ſhould be ſtiled* Catholicus, *he ſhall not, notwithſtanding that, have a right to ordain Archbiſhops, as other Patriarchs have, having neither the Honour nor Authority of a Patriarch: And if it ſhould ſo happen that a Couneil ſhould be aſſembled in* Greece, *and this Prelate ſhould be preſent at it, he ſhall have the ſeventh Place therein, next after the Biſhop of* Seleucia; *and in caſe he ſhould have at any time power given him to ordain Archbiſhops in his Province, it ſhall not be lawful for him to advance any of the Natives to that Dignity; whoſoever does not yield obedience to this, is excommunicated by the Synod.*

If there were nothing elſe to prove theſe *Arabick* Canons to be ſpurious, this Canon alone would do it abundantly; it being plain from Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that the Title of *Patriarch* was not known in the Church for ſome time after the Celebration of the Firſt

Nicene

Nicene Council; neither was there any Bishop or Christian in *Ethiopia* at that time: *Frumentius*, who was the Apostle, or first Bishop thereof, having been consecrated a Bishop by *Athanasius*, when he was Primate of *Alexandria*, which he was not till after the *Nicene* Council.

In the Year 1177. Pope *Alexander* the III*d*, while he was at *Venice*, whither the Emperor *Frederick* had driven him, either received, or pretended to receive, a Message from the Great Christian Emperor *Prester John*, desiring to submit himself to his obedience, and to have a College at *Rome*, and an Altar at *Jerusalem* for the use of his Subjects.

Pope *Alexander* the III[d] pretends to have received an Ambassador from *Prester John*.

The Pope having made a noise with this Message, pretended to send *Philip* a Physician, who was said to have brought it, back again with a Letter to *Prester John*; I shall not trouble the Reader with that Letter; for besides that it contains little else than Hyperbolies of St. *Peter* and the Pope's Supremacy, it is probable that that whole Affair was a mere Fiction, invented on purpose to make the *Roman* Emperor ashamed of persecuting the Pope, at the same time, when so remote a Christian Emperor was ready to throw himself at his feet. For had this Message of *Philip*'s, whom some call *Peter*, been a real thing, it would certainly have taught the Court of *Rome* in what part of the World *Prester John*'s Empire lay, whether in *Asia*, near *Tartary*; or in *Africk*, beyond *Egypt*: Whereas, long after this, that Empire, though called *Ethiopia*, was still supposed to lie somewhere in the

North of *Asia*; for which reason it was still joined in the same Missions with the *Tartars* and *Ruthens*, and committed to the Charge of the Dominican Provincial of *Poland*, as being its next Neigbour.

Pope *Clement* pretended to have received an Embassy from the same Prince.

In the Year 1308. *Prester John* was brought upon the stage again; Pope *Clement* the *Vth* being said to have received a most splendid Embassy from him, consisting of 30 Ambassadors, by whom he was assured, that their Master had no less than 74 Kings under him, and who, excepting five of the smallest that were *Mahometans*, were all Christians; and that he had likewise within his Dominions an 127 Archbishops, every one of which had 20 Bishops under his Jurisdiction: Which pious Fraud was spread about at that time on purpose to encourage the *Latins* to undertake a new Expedition to the *Holy Land*, being assured of the Assistance of this mighty Christian Emperor, whose Dominions were still reported to lie convenient enough for the carrying on of a Holy War in *Syria*; insomuch, that I am apt to think, that the whole Story of this Enchanted *Asiatick* Christian Empire was invented and kept up by the Trumpeters of the Holy War for that very purpose; no such Empire having ever to this day been discovered in *Asia*; what is reported by the *Portugueze* Missionaries of the Kingdom of *Thybot*, amounting to no more at most, than that those People were formerly Christians, but without the least Evidence of any *Prester John*, or Great Christian Empire having ever been in those Parts. But how they come to call a

It is probable that there was never any such Emperor.

Coun-

Countrey which they ſuppoſed to lie towards *Scythia*, *Ethiopia*, is one of the unaccountable Blunders of thoſe Ignorant, though Fraudulent Ages; unleſs we will ſay, That they having heard ſomething of a Chriſtian Empire in *Ethiopia*, did either, for the foreſaid Ends, induſtriouſly tranſiate it into *Aſia*; or were ſo ignorant in Geography, as not to know what part of the World *Ethiopia* lay in.

In the Council of *Florence* (for ſo low we muſt come before we meet with any thing more of the *Ethiopick* Church) *Eugenius* the IV*th*, after he had diſmiſſed the *Greeks*, finding it neceſſary for his Affairs to have the name of a Council ſtill ſitting, ſo long as that of *Baſil*, which had depoſed him, and choſen the Duke of *Savoy* Pope, was on foot againſt him; but being withal deſirous to have it at *Rome*, for want of a better, gave this for the reaſon of his tranſlating it from *Florence* thither: That it was convenient that the ſplendid Embaſſy from *Zerah Jacob* the High and Mighty Emperor of *Ethiopia*, which was on its way to that Council, with the ſubmiſſion of that Church and Empire to the Pope, ſhould not find the Council ſitting in ſuch a paultry Town as *Florence*, but in the Metropolis of Chriſtendom, which would add ſomething of Authority to it, and accordingly it was tranſlated.

Eugenius the IV*th* tranſlates the Council from *Florence* to *Rome*, upon a ſham Pretence, that the Emperor of *Ethiopia* was ſending an Ambaſſador with a ſubmiſſion of himſelf and his Church to him.

But as it is certain that no ſuch ſplendid *Ethiopick* Embaſſy ever came to *Rome*, ſo it is as certain, that it was never ſo much as thought of in *Habaſſia*; on the contrary, *Zera Jacob*, when he was ſolicited by ſome *Jeruſalem*

Monks on this Occaſion, did abſolutely refuſe to ſubmit his Church to that of *Rome*; for which denial, the Jeſuits above 200 years after his death, made Sultan *Saged*, his Great Grandſon, and their Convert, to curſe his Soul to the Pit of Hell, ſaying, *A curſe on King* Zera Jacob, *who was the cauſe of our not being at this time in the* Portugueſe *or* Roman *Faith, for which he is now tormented in Hell.*

Sultan *Saged* curſeth his Grandfather's Soul for not having ſubmitted himſelf to the *Romiſh* Church.

Now though this Convert had been never ſo certain of *Zera Jacob*'s being in Hell for having deny'd to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope; yet conſidering he was his Great Granfather, he might very well have ſpared his Curſes; ſuch impious Expreſſions of Zeal, for I can call them no other, being much fitter for the Mouths of Profligate *Algerine* Renegadoes, with whom they are ſaid to be common, than for a Prince who turns from one Sect of Chriſtianity to another. Beſides, *Zera Jacob*, abating him that one thing of his having refuſed to ſubmit the *Ethiopick* Church to the *Roman*, was no ſuch Miſcreant as to deſerve to be thus curſed by his Poſterity: as appears by a Letter written by him to the *Habaſſin* Monks at *Jeruſalem*, to whom he ſent the Collection of Canons which is now at *Rome*, giving them likewiſe ſeveral Lands for uſes which the Church of *Rome* allows to be pious; this Monaſtery of *Habaſſins* ſtands on Mount *Gabor*.

Zera

Zera Jacob's *Letter to the* Habaſſin *Monks at* Jeruſalem.

In the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghoſt, one God, whom I adore with all my heart, and on whom I rely with all my ſtrength, and with all my mind, to whom I am bound with the tye of ſacred Worſhip, which is not to be broken.

The Emperor *Zera Jacob's* Letter to the *Habaſſin* Monks at *Jeruſalem.*

THIS Letter is written in this Book of Canons by us Zera Jacob, *whoſe Name, ſince we took the Government upon us, is* Conſtantine, *in the 8th year after the God of* Iſrael *in the multitude of his mercies was pleaſed to place us on the Throne of the Kingdom of* Ethiopia, *being in* Seava, *which is called* Teglet.

Let this come to the hands of my beloved, the College of Saints who reſide at Jeruſalem *the Holy City.*

In the peace of the Lord. Amen.

I do proclaim you very happy, for having in the firſt place obeyed the word of the Goſpel, which ſaith, He that forſaketh not his father and mother, wife and children, *&c. for which reaſon you have left the world, and have taken upon you the Yoke of Monkery; the word of the Prophet hath likewiſe bound you, which ſaith,* I will not go into the tabernacle of mine houſe, nor climb up to my bed; neither will I give ſleep to mine eyes, nor ſlumber to mine eyelids, until I find the

the houſe of the Lord, the habitatian of the God of Jacob. *Whereupon you determined to repair to* Jeruſalem, *the City of the Great King, not being diſcouraged from going thither, either by the Incommodities of the Journey, or the heat by day, or the cold by night, nor by the dangers of Robbers; where when you arrived, what was ſaid by the Prophet was fulfilled in you: Let* us therefore go into his houſe, and worſhip in the place where the face of our Lord ſtood; *for to you it is given to kiſs the place which his Preſence hath hallowed, from his Nativity to his Aſcenſion: For which cauſe I do very much rely on your Prayers, and on the Afflictions you have ſuffered for God's ſake.*

I do ſalute you from the bottom of my heart, ſaying, Health to you the Sons of Ethiopia, *whom the Earthly* Jeruſalem *hath tyed to her ſelf, that ſhe may convey you to the Heavenly.*

Health be to your Faith which is perfect in the Trinity; and to your courſe of life, which is like to that of Angels.

Health be to your Feet which walk, to your Hands which touch, to your Lips which kiſs, to your Eyes which do freely behold Galilee *where God was Incarnate, and* Bethlehem *where he was born, taking our Nature upon him, and the Cave where he lay, and* Nazareth *where he was educated, and* Jordan *where he was baptized, that he might cleanſe us, and* Corontum *where he faſted for our ſake, and* Calvary *where he was crucified for our Redemption, and* Golgotha *where he was buried and roſe again, that he might quicken us, and the Mount of* Olives *where he aſcended to his Father and our God, that he might introduce us into the Inner Vail of the higheſt Heavens, into which he*

he himself entred, and introduced the Apostles who were before us, and the Oratory of Sion *where the Comforter descended on our Fathers the Apostles.*

Health be likewise to your Eyes, which behold the Light that cometh out of the Sepulchre of our Lord on the Old Sabbath, to wit, on the Eve of our Passover.

May your Peace, and Love, and Prayers, and Benedictions be with me for ever, Amen.

Behold I have sent you this Book of Synods, that you may receive Consolation from it on the Old Sabbath, and on the Lord's Day, and that they may be a Memorial of me through all Ages. Amen.

I Zera Jacob, *whose Name, since God was pleased to place me on the Throne of the Empire, is* Constantine, *in the Eighth Year of my Reign, do Bequeath unto you the Land of* Zebla, *and Half of all the Tributes arising from it, for Two Years, which amounts to an Hundred Ounces of Gold, toward your Food and Rayment; and do give it to the Monastery of* Jerusalem, *that it may be a Memorial of my self and of our Lady* Mary, *and for the Celebration of Her Feasts, to wit, That of her Nativity on the* 1st *of* May, *that of her Death on the* 22d *of* January, *and that of her Translation on the* 15th *of* August; *as also of the Feasts of her Son, our Lord* Jesus, *on the* 29th *of* December, *when he was Born, to be celebrated by you at* Bethlehem, *together with the Festivities of his Passion, and lively Resurrection*

on

on from Death. You shall likewise celebrate all the Festivities of our Lady Mary, *which in the Book of her Miracles are Thirty two in number. And shall furthermore keep a Lamp burning for me in the Sepulchre of our Lord; and another in the Entry thereof; and on the right side one, and on the left another; as also at the place of his Burial three; three at the Monument of our Lady* Mary *in* Gethsemane; *and at the place where* Mary Magdalen *saw him one; and in our Chappel three; one also at* Bethlehem *where our Lord was born; and another at the place in the Mount of* Olives *where our Lord ascended. Let them be all maintained at my Charge, and take care not to suffer them to go out at any time, nor to give way to any Person contributing towards them. And since I do rely on the Bond of your Love, let your Prayers and Benedictions be with me thorough all Ages.* Amen.

My Beloved, Don't you offer to say, Light descendeth only upon us, that your glorying in your selves be not in vain; since you know that evil attends glorying, and blessing humility. *Peace be with you, the Peace of our Lord be with you.* Amen.

The Jesuit *Guerrira*, speaking of the forementioned *Ethiopick* Embassy, saith, That the whole Story of it was either a mere Fiction, not knowing its like, of its having been made use of for so great a purpose by a Pope, or that it had no manner of effect.

But it is no matter whether it was a Fiction or

or a Reality, ſo long as it furniſhed a good pretence, for a preſent turn, and tended to the Diſparagement of the Council of *Baſil*, which, together with the ground it ſtood upon, was blown up purely by Tricks of this nature; *the Yoke* the Council of *Conſtance* had laid on the Neck of the *Papacy*, beng broke by Pretences, of the *Greek* and all other Churches and Patriarchs having ſubmitted themſelves to it.

This is all that I have been able to meet with in *Greek* or *Latin* Hiſtory concerning the Church of *Ethiopia* before the Year 1490, when it was firſt diſcovered by the *Portugueſes*. And as for Hiſtories of their own, I do not find they have any, beſides ſome Fabulous Legends of the Lives of their Monks; of which I ſhall only give the Reader a Taſte.

In the Life of *Tecla Haymanot*, the moſt famous of all their Monks both for Piety and Miracles, the following Account of the Succeſſion of their Grand Abbots is given.

The Angel St. *Michael* gave the Cowl to St. *Anthony*; St. *Anthony* gave it to St. *Macarius*; *Macarius* gave it to *Pachomius*; *Pachomius* to Abbot *Araguni*, or *Michael*, who was one of the Nine Monks that came into *Ethiopia*; *Araguni* gave it to *Bazana*; *Bazana* to *Mazralmoa*; *Mazralmoa* to Abbot *John*; *John* to Abbot *Jeſus*; *Jeſus* to *Tecla Haymanot*, to whom Chriſt appeared, and promiſed, that whoſoever ſhould kill a Serpent upon a *Friday*, ſhould be pardoned all the Sins he had committed in Forty Years.

But

But notwithstanding the Lives of the *Habassin* Monks are all of a piece with the Lives of all the other Monks that are extant, that is, extreamly fabulous; yet this must be said for them, that Monkery continues to this day much the same among them, as it was in the beginning, from which in the Church of *Rome* it is so strangely degenerated.

Monkery much the same in *Habassia*, as it was in the beginning.

For in *Habassia*, any one that has a mind to be a Monk, retires thereupon to the Desart, where he puts on what Habit he pleaseth, or judgeth to be most sutable to his pretensions. Their Obligation so long as they profess themselves Monks, which they are always at their liberty to give over, is to fast every day in the Year till three a Clock in the Afternoon, and to Assemble together at Midnight, and at other certain Hours to perform their Devotions; they do generally exercise great Austerities upon themselves, being very strict in their Fasts, many of them eating but once in two days, and some never but upon *Sundays*; some of them are said to have made Holes in the Trunks of Trees, and to have lodged in them till the Trees have grown to shut them in.

Their Monastries are little Villages.

Their Monastries are more like Villages than *Roman* Convents, every Monk having his distinct dwelling House with as much Land laid to it, as a Man is able to cultivate, and when they come to dye they dispose of their Goods as they please, only the Land remains still to the Monastries. Now this course falls in exactly with that of the Primitive Monks, who always lived in Deserts, where they

they work'd hard, and were under no Vows; whereas the *Roman* Monks have their Monaſtries in or near Princes Courts, and in all Populous Cities; and tho generally hurried into that Profeſſion, either by their Parents, or by ſome ſudden fit of Melancholy, are fettered in it by Vows for their Lives, and are ſo far from putting their Hand to any work, that they are every where become proverbial for Lazineſs; and as for their Buildings, they are much more like Palaces than the Dwellings of People that have renounced the World, and taken a Vow of Poverty upon them.

The moſt famous of all their Monaſtries, is that of *Alelujah*, wherein formerly there are ſaid to have been 40000 Monks together, all the Country about having been given to the Monks thereof to cultivate.

I do not find that any ſort of Learning did ever flouriſh among the *Habaſſins*, ſo that they have but few Books beſides the Bible, the Canons of the firſt Councils, the Homilies of the *Greek* Fathers, and the Lives of their Saints.

The *Habaſſins* do hold the Scriptures to be the perfect Rule of the Chriſtian Faith, inſomuch, that they deny it to be in the Power of a General Council to oblige People to believe any thing as an Article of Faith, without an expreſs warrant from thence.

The *Habaſſins* hold the Scriptures to be the perfect Rule of Faith.

Their Canon of Scripture conſiſts of 85 Books; the *Old Teſtament* conſiſting of 46, and the *New* of 39.

As

They are *Eutychians*

As to the Doctrine of our Saviour's Incarnation, they are all *Eutychians*, holding that there is but one Nature in Christ, which is the Divine, by which they will have the Humane to have been swallowed up; they were led into this Heresy by *Dioscorus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was condemned with *Eutyches* for it, by the General Council of *Calcedon*, whose Authority they for that reason reject, pretending that its Decrees were imposed on the Church by *Marcian* the Emperor; on which account they call all those who have yielded Obedience to it, *Mellites* or *Royalists*, as they themselves are called *Jacobites* from one *James*, a *Syrian*, who was a great Stickler for the *Eutychian* Heresy.

They deny the Popes Supremacy.

They allow the Bishop of *Rome* to be the first Patriarch, but condemn his pretending to a Supremacy over the whole Church as Antichristian; and do detest Popery to that degree, as to declare, That of the two, they would sooner turn *Mahometans* than *Roman* Catholicks.

The Emperor is Head of the Church.

The Supream Authority in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, is in the Emperor. They have but one Bishop at a time, who is stiled the *Abuna*, that is, *our Father*; he is always an *Alexandrian* Monk, and upon notice of a Vacancy, is consecrated and sent into *Ethiopia* by the *Alexandrian* Patriarch, to whom this Church hath always been subject; he has the seventh place in a General Council; he Ordains only by Imposition of Hands; he hath Lands both in the Kingdom of *Dembea* and *Tigre*, from which, besides several Perquisites, he

he receives a considerable Revenue. Their Priests may Marry after they are in Orders, and as often as they are Widowers.

Their Priests Marry.

They are said to have divers Forms of Baptism, *viz.* I baptize thee in the Holy Spirit; I baptize thee in the Water of *Jordan*; Let God Baptize thee; Come thou to Baptism. They Circumcise both Males and Females, and all are Baptized every Year on the Feast of *Epiphany*; they hold that Men derive their Souls, no less than their Bodies, from their Parents; and that the Children of Christian Parents, and especially of a Christian Mother, are saved notwithstanding they dye without Baptism.

They have divers Forms of Baptism.

They celebrate the Eucharist but once a day in a Church, at which none must be present without communicating; the Laity as well as the Clergy receive the Cup; they do not elevate, nor Worship the consecrated Elements, neither are they kept after the Communion; they consecrate unleavened Bread, which they break after it is consecrated; they reckon the receiving of the Sacrament breaks their Fast, for which reason they never receive it on Fasting-days till after Three a Clock in the Afternoon. They do not believe *Transubstantiation*, as is plain from their Liturgy, in which the Words of Institution are thus set down, *This Bread is my Body, this Cup is my Blood*, which Propositions the *Romanists* themselves acknowledge cannot be understood otherwise than figuratively.

All that are present at the Celebration of the Sacrament must communicate. They do not elevate nor adore the Host, nor keep it after the Communion. They break it after it is consecrated. They reckon the receiving of it breaks their Fast.

They do not believe *Transubstantiation.*

Ludolphus farther tells us, That when he asked *Gregory* the *Habaſſin*, Whether he did not think that the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine was changed and converted into the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt? That he made anſwer, That no ſuch ſort of *Tranſubſtantiation* was known or underſtood by his Countreymen, who were not ſo ſcrupulous, neither did they uſe to ſtart ſuch thorny Queſtions. Nevertheleſs it ſeemed to him probable and likely, That the Common Bread and Wine was changed into the myſterious Repreſentation of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo was altered from Prophane to Sacred, to repreſent the true Body and Blood of Chriſt to the Communicants. Than which Declaration, nothing can be more agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* concerning the Euchariſt. Finally, *Paul de Roo*, Secretary to the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, was in the Year 1691. told by the *Habaſſin* Ambaſſador, who was ſent to the Governor of *Batavia*, *That* Tranſubſtantiation *and the Adoration of the Conſecrated Bread in the Sacrament, were what the* Habaſſins *abhorred.*

They have only a general Confeſſion.

They confeſs their Sins only in general, ſaying, *Habaſſea, Habaſſea, I have ſinned, I have ſinned*, without deſcending to particulars.

They deny Purgatory, Confirmation, and Extream Unction.

They deny *Purgatory*, and know nothing of *Confirmation* and *Extream Unction*; they condemn Graven Images. They keep *Saturday* and *Sunday*. Their Offices are all in the Vulgar Tongue.

condemn

condemn Graven Images; they keep both *Saturday* and *Sunday*; and do never fast on either of them, no, not in *Lent*, nor upon any day betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*; their *Church Offices are all in the Vulgar Tongue*, and are performed with extraordinary Devotion, but especially their *Litanies*; they go all betimes in the morning to Church to pay their Devotions, which they do with great fervour, and for the most part leave something of an offering behind them.

They are very devout.

They never go into a Church with their Shooes on, nor sit in it, but upon the ground.

Whenever they come to any place that has a Church, let their Business be never so urgent, they repair to it immediately; they never go into any Church with their Shooes on, nor sit down in it, unless it be upon the ground; on all occasions they express a deep sense of Religion, but chiefly when they visit the Sick, which they are very forward to do: They are charitable to the Poor, and to all Strangers, if they are satisfied of their not being of the *Roman* Church; for all whose Members, the Cruel Persecutions which were raised and carried on for some years by the Jesuits, while the Emperor was at their Devotion, have created a perfect detestation in them. The whole of their Divine Service consists in reading the Scriptures, and some Homilies of the Fathers, and the Administration of the Sacrament, preaching being a rare Exercise among them; at which when Mr. *Ludolphus* seemed to wonder, he was asked by *Gregory* the *Habassin*, Whether we of the Western Church thought our Preachers could say any thing better than what was written in the Sacred

They seldom preach.

Sacred Scriptures, and the Homilies of the Fathers? or whether we thought their Sayings more efficacious than the Word of God? and whether we did not fear left thoſe Preachers ſhould utter ſomething which might be repugnant to our Faith and Salvation, and which might prove of dangerous conſequence to the Peace of the Church?

An Account of the Diſcovery of Ethiopia *by the* Portugueſes.

The *Infante Don Henry*, the firſt and moſt zealous Promoter of the diſcovery of unknown Countries.

DON ENRIQUE the Fifth, Son of *Don Joan* the firſt King of *Portugal* by his Queen the Lady *Philipa*, the Daughter of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, being a Prince much addicted to the ſtudy of Mathematicks, was the firſt that ever entertained any thought of making Diſcoveries on the Weſtern Coaſt of *Africa*, to which he is ſaid to have been encouraged by ſome Information he receiv'd from the *Moors* in *Barbary*, when he was a Soldier there under his Father; he was Maſter of the *Military Order of Chriſt*, which together with his other Eccleſiaſtical Penſions, brought him in a great Revenue; all which, together with his whole time, he reſolved to dedicate entirely to the gratification of his Curioſity after new Diſcoveries.

And in order to the better carrying on of this his great Deſign, he retired from Court to a place in the *Algarves*, called at that time *Terranable*,

Terranable, but ſince, from him, *Villa de Infante*; a few Months after his retirement, he fitted out two Ships, which having paſſed the Pillars of *Hercules*, at that time the *non ultra* of Navigation, they ſailed to the *Promontory* of *Ganaria*, but were diſcouraged from proceeding any further, partly by ſtrong Currents, and partly by that *Promontory*, running ſo far into the Sea, that they could not diſcover its Cape.

This firſt Voyage was made in the Year 1410. after which it was 10 years before the *Infante* could prevail with any body to make a ſecond Attempt; the firſt Adventurers having to excuſe their Cowardice, reported terrible things of the Dangers they had eſcaped.

His ill ſucceſs at firſt.

Neither did the *Infante*, during all that time, eſcape the diſcouragement that new and great Enterprizes do commonly meet withal; his Deſigns, for ſome years, having been not only the Jeſt of the Lazy Buffoon, but were alſo cenſured as Chimera's, or Idle Projects, by Men of Speculation and Gravity, who ſaid, The Countreys the *Infante* was in queſt of, were neither better, nor worſe, than the Sandy Deſerts of *Arabia*; that God having allotted thoſe Countries to Wild Beaſts for their habitation, if men ſhould offer to intrude into them, they would either die, or turn wild like the Natives; and that the very ſight of them would turn Whites, Negroes; that there had never wanted younger Brothers among Princes, who had ſought to remedy the misfortune of their Birth, by new Diſcoveries, but which had always miſcarried: That the *Infante*'s Father,

Not diſcouraged thereby, nor by Railery, nor by grave Nonſenſe, from going on with his Projects.

who was a wise Prince, finding *Portugal* wanted People, had invited Strangers from all parts into it, and had given them Lands to cultivate; whereas, if his Project should take effect, it would tend to the depopulating of it; with a great many other such idle Reflections.

But the *Infante*, who had too great a Soul to be discouraged either by Railery, or grave Nonsense, having with much ado wrought some Mariners up to an Opinion of the feasibleness of the Undertaking, in the Year 1420. he equipped several Vessels, which after having met with violent Storms, discovered the Island of *Madera*; after which he went on discovering more and more yearly, until they made the Mountains of *Leæna*, which lie 360 Leagues to the Southward of *Ganaria*.

The Island of *Madera* first discovered.

The *Infante*, to encourage the *Portugueses* to go on with the Discoveries he had so happily begun, obtained a Bull from Pope *Martin* the V*th*, and which was afterwards confirmed by divers other Popes, whereby he gave to the Crown of *Portugal* a Title to all the Countries that should be discovered by its Subjects from the Promontory of *Ganaria*, to the farthest *Indies*.

The Pope gives a Title to the Crown of *Portugal* to all the New Countries they shall discover.

But notwithstanding this Grant, after the *Infante*'s Death, these Discoveries were for some years at a stand, until they were renewed again by *Alphonso* the V*th*, whose Captains sailed first beyond the Mountain of *Leæna*, as far as *Caboverde*, and afterwards advanced as far as the Promontory of St. *Catherin*, which is two degrees and an half to the South of the *Equator*.

The Discoveries were intermitted, and revived again by *Alphonso* V.

John

John II. who succeeded *Alphonso*, set his heart extreamly on carrying on those Discoveries; and having got some Eminent Mathematicians about him, he commanded them to consult together to see whether they could invent any thing that might be of use in long Voyages; the most eminent of them, were *Rodrigo* and *Josephe*, his two Physicians, and one *Martin Bohemo*, who had been Scholar to *Johannes Monteregius*. These Learned Men, after divers Conferences, invented the *Astrolabe*, and the Tables of Declination.

The Astrolabe and Tables of Declination were found out by the *Portugues*.

With the help of this Instrument, one *Canus*, a famous Sea-Commander, carried on the Discoveries as far as the River *Zaires* in the Kingdom of *Congo*. This River is said to rise in the same Mountains with the *Nile*, and in the Winter to run into the Sea with that violence, as to make the Water fresh for 80 miles: Here it was the *Portugueses* first heard of the *Habassins*, and of their being Christians; of whom, when King *John* came to be informed, he resolved to send some by the way of *Egypt*, to try to get into that Countrey; the first that were sent being ignorant of the *Arabick* Tongue, were quickly discouraged, who having visited *Jerusalem*, returned home without doing any thing.

At the River *Zaires* in the Kingdom of *Congo*, the *Portugueses* first heard of the *Habassins*.

Only to excuse themselves, they raised Stories that were enough to have daunted others from attempting that Voyage a second time.

But the King understanding what it was that had made his first Attempt miscarry, and having found two men who were both great Masters of the *Arabick* Tongue, whose names

Cavilham and *Payo*, who both understood *Arabick*, are sent by the way of *Memphis* to find out *Habassia*.

were *Petro Cavilham*, and *Alphonso Payo*; he sent them on the same Errand, with a strict charge not to come back without an Account of the Scituation and State of the *Habassin* Empire and Religion, promising them great Rewards if they did it effectually.

They went first to *Alexandria*, and from thence to *Memphis*, and from thence to *Medena*, where being informed of the *Indies* being on the left hand, and *Habassia* on the right, they agreed to part there; and having cast lots, it fell to *Payo*'s share to go to *Habassia*, and to *Cavilham* to go to the *Indies*, having appointed to meet at *Memphis*, after they had made all the Discoveries they were able in their several Provinces. *Payo*, whose Province was *Habassia*, died by the way before he got thither; but *Cavilham* had better luck, and arrived safe in the *Indies*, where having observed all the Chief Ports and Commodities of those Countries, he made Maps of the one, and set down an exact Account of the other, which were afterwards of great use to the *Portugueses*, as well as an encouragement to them to go on in their Discoveries. After having finished what he had to do in the *Indies*, he sailed to the Coast of *Africk*, where having touched at *Oramata*, and the Promontory of *Prasus*, and at *Rapti* which stands on the Mouth of the River *Sengi*, as also at *Melinde*, *Quiloa*, and *Cephala*, he was there certainly informed by the Merchants and Mariners, that there was a passage to the *Indies*, in the Latitude where the Cape of *Good Hope* was since discovered to be.

Cavilham, *Payo* dying by the way, goes first to the *Indies*, then to the Southern Coast of *Africk*, and at last enters into *Habassia*.

Cavilham

Cavilham being overjoy'd at this Intelligence, made all the haſte he could to *Memphis*, where being arrived, he met with the bad news of *Payo*'s Death; and tho he was willing to have returned to *Portugal* with the Intelligence he had got, yet remembring how much the King's heart was ſet on the diſcovery of *Habaſſia*, of which he was able to give him little or no Account, he reſolved to take a Journey thither, which he did, having firſt ſent the King in writing an exact Information of all the Diſcoveries he had made in the *Indies*, and on the Coaſt of *Africk*, by ſome Merchants that traded from *Memphis* to *Lisbon*.

Cavilham enters into *Habaſſia*, and was kindly entertained by the King, whoſe Name was *Alexander*.

In the Year 1490. *Cavilham* firſt entred into *Habaſſia*, of which at that time one *Eſcander* or *Alexander* was Emperor, who being ſatisfi'd of the truth of what *Cavilham* had told him, of his having been ſent to him by the King of *Portugal*, and of the Greatneſs of that King; he entertained him civilly, and was preparing to have ſent an Ambaſſador along with him to *Portugal*, but was prevented from doing it by Death.

He was detained as a Spy by King *Nahod*.

But *Nahod*, who ſucceeded *Alexander*, was ſo far from executing what his Father had deſigned, that he would neither ſend himſelf, nor ſuffer *Cavilham* to return home, whom he looked upon and treated as a Spy.

He ſends an account of the Country to *Portugal* by an *Habaſſin* Monk.

Cavilham finding that there was no hopes of his ever getting out of *Ethiopia*, perſuaded an *Habaſſin* Monk, who was going to *Jeruſalem*, to take a Journey to *Lisbon*, by whom he ſent the King a full Information of the State of the

the *Habaſſin* Church and Empire, which coming ſafe to the King's hand, gave him abundant Satisfaction.

Nahod having reigned 13 Years, was ſucceeded by his Son *Lebna Danguil*, or *David*, who being a Child at his Father's Death, the Empire during his Minority was managed by his Grand-mother *Helena*, who had been Wife to the Emperor *Beda Mariam*, and who for her admirable Wiſdom and Learning, was highly eſteemed by all ſorts of People. She had a great Dowry in the Kingdom of *Goiam*, where ſhe built the moſt ſtately Church that had ever been ſeen in *Ethiopia*.

This King had three Names; his Baptiſmal Name was *Lebna Danguil*; his ſecond Name, which he took when he aſſumed the Government, was *David*; his third was *Onay Segued*; he was a Prince of great Courage; but as we ſhall ſee hereafter, was ruined by the vaſt hopes he had conceived of the Advantages that would accrue to him by his new Alliance with the *Portugueſe*.

Emanuel, King of *Portugal*, ſends *Almeida* with a great Fleet to take *Ormus*, and ſome other Sea-Ports in the *Indies*.

Emanuel ſucceeding *John*, both in the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and in his heat for carrying on the Diſcovery of the *Indies*; after the Great *Gamas* having got thither, and entred into Alliances with the ſeveral Princes, did reckon that there was no ſecurity to his Trade in thoſe Parts, without getting ſome of the beſt and ſtrongeſt of its Ports into his own Hand; he thereupon ſent *Franciſco de Almeida* with the greateſt Fleet that ever was ſent before or ſince to the *Indies*, to take *Adenum*, *Ormus*, *Malaca*, &c. to which and all that

that he was able to Conquer in thoſe Parts, the Popes, who pretend to a right to diſpoſe of all Infidel, as well as Heretical Kingdoms, had given him a Title.

Almeida ſailed from *Lisbon* with his great Fleet on the *26th* of *March* in the Year 1502. and after a troubleſom Voyage arrived at *Quiola*, where he depoſed the King, and beſtowed the Crown upon the moſt popular Man he could hear of; and having found a convenient Scituation for a Caſtle, he run one up in twenty Days, and left a good Gariſon in it, which commanded both the Port and the Town; from *Quiola* he ſailed to *Mombacca*, which having taken by Aſſault, after having plundered the Town, he burnt it to the ground; after that he ſailed to *Cranganor*, where he likewiſe built a Caſtle which commanded both the Port and the Town.

In the Year 1507. *Alphonſo Albequerque* having plundered moſt of the Towns upon the Coaſt of *Melinde*, ſailed to the Iſland of *Socatora*, the Inhabitants whereof are Chriſtians of the Jacobite Sect, as the *Habaſſins* are, where having taken the Fort of *Benninum* by Storm, he entred into the *Perſian* Gulph; and after having deſtroyed the Ports of *Curiate* and *Maſcat*, and taken *Zaor*, *Orfazana*, and *Ormus*, he ſent two Envoys, whoſe Names were *Joan Barmudes*, and *Joan Gomez*, to the Emperor of *Habaſſia*, who was well-known in thoſe Parts, to deſire ſome Troops of him.

Albuquerque ſends two Envoys to *Helena* the Governeſs of *Ethiopia*.

The Empreſs *Helena*, who was ſtill Governeſs of that Empire, having heard of the great

great things that had been done by the *Portugueſe* Captains every where in the *Indies*, received thoſe Envoys with great Ceremony, and expecting to reap great Advantages from an Alliance with a Nation that was ſo powerful at Sea, ſhe diſpatched one *Matthew* an *Armenian*, Ambaſſador in her Grand-Son's Name to the King of *Portugal*, joyning an *Habaſſin* of ſome Quality in Commiſſion with him; their Buſineſs was to conclude a League offenſive and defenſive betwixt the Crowns of *Ethiopia* and *Portugal*, and that in order to drive the *Turks* out of all the Ports they were poſſeſſed of on the Coaſt of the *Red-Sea*.

The Ambaſſadors having got to *Goa*, were there very kindly received by *Albuquerque*, who had taken that City but a little before, and were carried to *Lisbon* by the Fleet that went thither in the Year 1513. where they were ſplendidly received by the King: *Matthew*, beſides his Letters of Credence, carried a piece of the true Croſs from that Empreſs to the King, which had been ſent her, for Names ſake, it is like, by the *Habaſſin* Monks at *Jeruſalem*.

The

The Letters of Helena, *Grand-Mother of* David, *the Precious* John, *to* Emanuel, *King of* Portugal, *written in the Year* 1509.

In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, one only God in Three Perſons: The Health, Grace, and Benedictions of our Lord and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of the Virgin Mary, *Born in the Houſe of* Bethlem, *be upon our beloved Brother, the moſt Chriſtian King* Emanuel, *Lord of the Sea, and Conqueror of the cruel Infidels, the* Mahometans.

The Empreſs *Helena's* Letter to the King of *Portugal.*

THE Lord Proſper you, and give you Victory over all your Enemies, and may your Kingdoms and Dominions be ſpread far and wide by the devout Prayers of the Meſſengers of Chriſt, our Redeemer, the Four Evangeliſts, St. John, *St.* Luke, *St.* Mark, *and St.* Matthew, *whoſe Holineſs and Prayers preſerve you.*

We do certify you, moſt beloved Brother, That your two Envoys are arrived at our Court, the one is named John, *who ſaith he is a Prieſt; the other is named* John Gomez, *upon whoſe having deſired Succour and Proviſions of us, we ſent our Ambaſſador* Matthew, *a Brother of our Service, with the good leave of our Patriarch,* Mark, *who gives us Bleſſing, and ſends Presbyters to* Jeruſalem, *and who is our Father, and the Father of our Kingdoms, and the Pillar of the Faith of Chriſt, and of the Holy Trinity, to your great Captain, who fighteth*

fighteth for the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in India, *to let him know how ready we are to supply him with what Soldiers and Provisions he stands in need of.*

We are informed that the Prince of Cair *is bringing together a great Fleet to go against yours, to be revenged on you for the damages he has sustained by your Captains in the* Indies, *whom may God so prosper daily, that all Infidels may be brought under the Yoke; we have determined to send Forces to your assistance against the said Prince; they shall be ordered to the Straits of* Mecha, *namely to* Babel, *or* Mendel, *unless it should be more convenient for your Service that they should be sent to the Ports of* Jidda, *or* Thur, *that so we may drive the* Mahometans *and* Infidels *out of the World; and that the Gifts and Oblations which are sent to the holy Sepulchre may no longer be devoured by Dogs.*

The promised time, which was foretold by Christ to his Mother, is now come, who said, That in the last days a King should rise among the *Franks* that would destroy the whole Race of *Mahometans,* and *Barbarians; now this must undoubtedly be that very time.*

Whatever our Ambassador Matthew *shall say to you, you may give credit to, as if it were spoken by us in person; he is one of our chief Ministers, for which reason we sent him to your Court.*

We had committed this Message to the Envoys you sent us, had we not been afraid lest by that means our Affairs might not have come so perfectly to your knowledge, as we desire they should.

We send you by this our Ambassador Matthew, *a Cross that is undoubtedly made out of the Cross whereon*

whereon our Saviour Christ was crucified at Jerusalem: *We made two Crosses out of a piece thereof that was sent to us; one whereof we keep to our selves, and the other we have sent to you by our Ambassador; the Wood is of a black colour, and it hangs by a small Silver Ring.*

She sends the King a piece of the true Cross, as it came to her from *Jerusalem.*

Furthermore, If you shall think fit to marry, either your Daughters to our Sons, or your Sons with our Daughters, it will be extreamly acceptable to us, and will be much for both our Advantages, by laying a foundation of a Brotherly Alliance betwixt us. Which Marriages we are and shall always be ready to enter into with you: What remains, is, That the Health and Grace of our Redeemer Christ Jesus, and of our Holy Lady the Virgin Mary, *may extend themselves to you, your Sons and Daughters, and your whole Family.* Amen.

She desires a Daughter of *Portugal* for her Black Prince.

We do furthermore certify you, That in case you and we join our Forces, we shall, with God's assistance, be strong enough to destroy the Enemies of our Holy Faith; for at Sea, where by reason of our Empire's lying so much within Land, we are not able to do any thing, You, praised be God, are the most powerful of all, Jesus Christ being your Helper; for in truth, the things done by you in the Indies *are miraculous, and more than humane: If you will set out a Fleet of a* 1000 *Ships, we will take care to furnish them with all Necessaries.*

Upon the Emperor of *Habassin*'s having made this glorious Proposition to him, King *Emanuel* resolved to send a splendid Embassy to his Court, named *Don Edward Calvam*, who had been Secretary of State to two Kings, and Ambassador at the Courts of *Vienna*, *France* and *Rome*, and one *Rodriguez de Lima*, and *Francis Alvercz*,

Alverez, one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, to go Ambaſſadors, ſending rich Preſents by them, both to the Emperor, and his Grandmother.

Theſe Ambaſſadors, with *Matthew* in their Company, went to *Goa*, on the Fleet that carried the Viceroy *Lopez Suares*; by whom they were ſent in the Year 1520. with a ſtrong Convoy to *Arkiko*, a Port in the *Red-Sea*, belonging at that time to the *Habaſſins*. *Galvam*, who was the firſt in Commiſſion, dying by the way, in the Iſland of *Camara*, was ſucceeded by *Lima*; who having made but a ſhort ſtay at *Arkiko*, begun his Journey towards the *Habaſſin* Court, where when he arrived, he was received by the Emperor with extraordinary joy and kindneſs; *Matthew*, who died in the way betwixt *Arkiko* and the Court, having been ſplendidly interr'd by the Ambaſſadors in the Monaſtry of *Biſoym*.

The Ambaſſadors who were to have returned to the *Indies* by the ſame Fleet they came upon, having brought their Negotiation to a ſpeedy iſſue, made what haſte they could back to *Arkiko*, where, to their great mortification, they found the Fleet they were to have embarked upon, gone, the Moncons or Trade-Winds, which in thoſe Seas blow ſix Months from one Point, and ſix months from the oppoſite, not permitting them to wait any longer for them: And to encreaſe the mortification of this Diſappointment, they met with Letters which had been left for them by the Admiral, that adviſed them of the Death of King *Emanuel*, the greateſt and moſt fortunate Prince that ever wore the Crown of *Portugal*.

The

The Ambaſſadors not knowing how long it might be before they ſhould have a Fleet to carry them to *Goa*; and being certain, that by reaſon of the Moncon it muſt be at leaſt ſix months before one could poſſibly come to them, they returned to the Court again, where they remained four years before any opportunity for *Goa* offered it ſelf. But at the end of four years they embarked upon a Fleet at *Arkiko*, ſent on purpoſe to fetch them, carrying an *Habaſſin* Ambaſſador home with them with Letters to the King of *Portugal* and the Pope.

The Ambaſſadors did not arrive at *Lisbon* before the Year 1527. where the *Habaſſin* Ambaſſador, whoſe name was *Zaga Zabo*, was received with all the marks of friendſhip and kindneſs; but whatever was the cauſe of it, he was, to his great ſorrow, detained above 10 years in that Court. He hath given the World a large Account of the Faith and Cuſtoms of the *Habaſſins*, which, though falſe in abundance of Particulars, I ſhall ſet down at length, having firſt tranſlated the *Habaſſin* Emperor's Letters to the Pope, and the King of *Portugal*.

The Letters of the most Serene David, *Emperor of* Ethiopia, *to* Emanuel *King of* Portugal; *writ in the Year* 1521.

In the name of God the Father, as it was always, and who has no beginning; In the name of God the only Son, who was like unto him before the light of the Stars was seen, and before he laid the foundations of the Sea; but who in time was conceived in the Womb of a Virgin without Human Seed, and without Marriage, for after this manner was the knowledge of his Office: In the name of the Comforter, the Spirit of Holiness, who knoweth all Secrets that are, or ever were, and all the height of Heaven, which is sustained and upheld without Pillars, and who enlarged the Earth, which before was not known, nor created, from the East to the West, and from the South to the North, neither are they First and Second, but a Trinity join'd in One Eternal Creator, and One Council, and One Word thorow all Ages. Amen.

THESE *Letters are sent by* Mani Tinghil, *that is, the* Frankincense of the Virgin, *which was the name that was given me at my Baptism; but the name I assumed when I took the Government upon me, is* David, *the Beloved of God, the Pillar of the Faith, of the Race of* Judah, *the Son of* David, *the Son of* Solomon, *the Son of the Pillar of* Sion, *the Son of the Seed of* Jacob, *the Son of the Hand of* Mary, *the Son of* Nau, *by the Flesh, Emperor of the Great and High* Ethiopia, *and of Mighty Kingdoms and Provinces, King of* Xoa *and* Affate, *and of* Fatigar, *and of* Angote

gote *and* Bara, *and of* Baaligaura, *and of* Adea, *and of* Vangue, *and of* Goiam, *where the* Nile *riſeth*; *and of* Damarua, *and of* Vaquem Edri, Ambea, Vagni, Tigri, Mahon, *and* Sabaym, *where Queen* Saba *lived, and of* Barnagaes, *and Lord of all the Countries as far as* Nubia *on the Confines of* Egypt.

Theſe Letters are addreſſed to the moſt Potent and Excellent King Emanuel, *who liveth in the love of God, and who continues ſtedfaſt in the Catholick Faith, the Son of the Apoſtles* Peter *and* Paul, *King of* Portugal *and* Algarves, *the Friend of Chriſtians, the Enemy, Judge and Conqueror of the* Mahometans, *and Heathens of* Africk *and* Guinea, *from the Promontory and Iſland of the* Moon, *to the* Red-Sea *of* Arabia, Perſia *and* Ormus, *and of the whole* Indies, *and of all the Provinces, Iſlands and Lands belonging to them, the Deſtroyer of the* Mahometans, *and of all the* mighty Heathens; *the* Lord of Towers, *and of* High Caſtles and Walls, *the* Propagator of the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

Peace be with you, King Emanuel, *who relying upon God's Aſſiſtance, do ſlaughter the* Mahometans, *and with your Fleet and Armies every where drive the Infidels out as Dogs: Peace be with the* Queen your Wife, *the* Friend of Jeſus Chriſt, *and* the Servant of the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of *the* Saviour of the World: *Peace be with* your Sons, *who are as* flouriſhing Lillies in a Spring-Garden, *and are as a* Table furniſhed with Meat: *Peace be with your* Daughters, *whoſe* Attire adorns them, *as* Tapiſtry does a Palace: *Peace be with all your* Kindred, *who are procreated out of the* Seed of the Saints, *as the holy Scripture ſaith, The* Sons of the Holy *are*

bleſſed, and are great both at home and abroad: Peace be with your Councellors, Officers, Magiſtrates *and* Judges: *Peace be with the* Governors *of your* Caſtles, *and* Frontiers, *and of all your* ſtrong Places: *Peace be with all* Nations, People, *and* Cities, *and all their* Inhabitants, *excepting* Mahometans *and* Jews; *Peace be with all* Pariſhes, *and with all that are* faithful to Chriſt *and you.* Amen.

O, *Lord King, and my Father, I am informed, That when the fame of my Name firſt reached your ears, by the Voice of my Ambaſſador* Matthew, *that you forthwith aſſembled all your* Archbiſhops, Biſhops *and* Prelates, *to return thanks to God for ſo good News, and that you did alſo receive* Matthew *with great kindneſs and reſpect: When I came to hear of this, I was overjoy'd likewiſe, and did return thanks to God for it, as did alſo all my People. I was much troubled at* Matthew's *Death, who dyed in the Monaſtery of* Baſayn, *within my Dominions, as he was returning home; he was not ſent by me, for I was then but a Boy of* 11 *years of Age, and had not taken the Government upon me after my Father's death, but by Queen* Helena, *whom I reverenced as my Mother, and who at that time adminiſtred the Affairs of the Empire.* Matthew *was by Profeſſion a Merchant, and his true name was* Abraham, *which he changed, that he might travel thorow the* Turkiſh *Dominions with the more ſecurity.*

But having, notwithſtanding his Diſguiſe, been diſcovered to be a Chriſtian, at Dabul *he was caſt into Priſon, where he lay till he was taken out by ſome of your ſtout Soldiers, upon his having acquainted them with his Confinement, and his being*

ing our Ambaſſador. The General of your Army, after he had reſcued him out of the hands of the Enemy, took care to convey him to your Court; at which, as Matthew *was punctual in acquainting you with all that he had in Commiſſion to ſay, ſo he was the ſame in ſending me word how honourably he was entertained by you, and how you had loaded him with Gifts; all which was confirmed by your Ambaſſadors, who were conveyed hither by* Didacus Lopez de Segueiea, *the Admiral of your Fleet; and by the Letters which were to have been delivered to me by* Edward Golvam, *who died in the Iſland of* Camera, *and were delivered by the ſurviving Ambaſſadors. I rejoyced exceedingly at the ſight of your Letters, and did return thanks to God for them. I was overjoy'd likewiſe to ſee your Ambaſſadors have* Croſſes on *their breaſts, and did enquire of them concerning* the Rites of *the Chriſtian Faith; being deſirous to know which are the True. But the thing that affected me with the moſt devotion, was the Story your Ambaſſadors told me, of* Ethiopia *having been firſt diſcovered to your Fleet by a Miracle: Which after it had given over all hopes of finding it, was conducted to one of our Ports by a Red Croſs that appeared one morning in the Heavens; as this appears to me to have been a Miracle, ſo undoubtedly the Admiral of your Fleet, who had ſuch an extraordinary honour done to him, muſt be exceedingly beloved of God.*

This mutual Embaſſy of ours was foretold by the Prophet in the Book of Life, and in the Paſſion of St. Victor, *and in the Writings of the Holy Fathers, which do all teſtify, That a great Chriſtian King ſhould conclude a Peace with the Emperor of* Ethio-

pia: *But little did I expect that this prophecy would have been fulfilled in my days. But God knew it certainly, praised be his Name, who first brought Ambassadors from you to me, that I might likewise send Ambassadors to you.*

My Father in Christ, and Friend, it is my desire that we should be of the same Religion; I never had an Embassy sent to me before by any Christian King, neither was I certain that there was a Christian King any where besides my self, having been always encompassed with Moors, *the Sons of* Mahomet, *and with* Heathens *and* Slaves, *who do not acknowledge God, and with some* who worship Wood and Fire, *and with others that* worship Serpents as Gods; *with whom I have never lived well, because, though the Faith has been preached to them, they refuse to come to the Truth. I am now at ease, God having given me rest from all your and my own Enemies; against whom when I march with my Armies, they turn their backs toward us; my Captains are also every-where victorious over them: So that God is not angry with me, but as the* Psalmist *has it,* He hath fulfilled the desire of Kings, who desire nothing but what is righteous: *For which, no praise is due to us, but all thanks ought to be returned to God, for it is he that hath given us the World, and the Land of the* Gentiles *for ever, and all the Countries from your own Borders to those of* Ethiopia: *For which I do give great thanks to God, and do proclaim his mighty Power, hoping the Sons of the* Gentiles *will be brought under the Yoke, and to the knowledge of the true Faith; for I do not in the least doubt, but that your Sons, and you, and I, shall abundantly rejoice in our Victories; and you must*

must never give over praying to God until he has put you in Poſſeſſion of the Holy Temple of Jeruſalem, *which at preſent is in the hands of the Enemies of Chriſt, that is, of* Mahometans, Heathens, *and* Hereticks; *which work if you could perform, your hand will be full of praiſe.*

Of the Ambaſſadors you ſent unto me with Matthew, *Three died by the way; the Admiral of your Fleet, after having had a Conference at* Matrua *with the King of* Bernagays, *who is our Vaſſal, diſpatched the ſurviving Ambaſſadors with great Gifts to our Court: Your Gifts were acceptable to me, but your Name is more precious to me than all Jewels and Treaſures.*

But let us paſs over theſe things, and begin to Treat how we may Invade and Conquer the Countries of the Infidels; I for my part will Contribute a Hundred thouſand Drachms of Gold, and as many Thouſand Armed Men, and moreover Timber, and Iron, and Copper, towards the Building and Equipping of a Fleet, with abundance of Proviſions of all ſorts; let us therefore joyn together. And whereas it is not our Cuſtom, nor agreeable to our Dignity, to ſend Ambaſſadors to any Prince to ſue for Peace, you did therefore firſt ſend Ambaſſadors to deſire a Peace with me, wherein you verified the Words of Chriſt, for it is written, Bleſſed are the feet which bring peace; *for which I am alſo prepared after the manner of the Apoſtles, who were unanimous and of one Heart.*

O King, and my Father Emanuel; *the Only God, who is the God of Heaven, and is always the ſame, growing neither older nor younger, preſerve and protect you.*

The Envoy, of those that arrived, who was first in Commission, was named Rodrigo Lima, *with whom was joyned one* Francis Alvarez, *who for the singular Piety and Probity of his Life, was very dear to me; he did also return very proper answers to all the questions I put to him concerning Religion; you ought therefore to prefer him, and to call him* Master, *and to employ him in the Conversion of the people of* Matrua *and* Zeila, *and of all the other Islands of the* Red-Sea, *all which are on the Coast of our Empire; I have bestowed a* Cross *and a* Staff *upon him, as Badges of Authority, and would have you to do the same, and to make him Bishop of those Countries, for he well deserves it, and is very fit for that Office. God be propitious to you, that so you may always be Valiant against your Enemies, and may bring them all under your Feet.*

God grant you a long life, and make you partaker of as good Places in the Kingdom of Heaven as I wish for my self; for I have heard many good things of you, and have seen with my eyes what I never expected to have seen: May God make things succeed from good to better, and may your place be over the Tree of Life, *which is the place of the Saints.*

I as your little Son, *have done what you Commanded me; and if you will send Ambassadors to me, I will always obey you, that so we may help one another; and whenever your Ambassadors shall arrive, as these did at* Matrua, *or at* Dalacam, *I will be sure to take that care of them that you desire I should, there being nothing I am so ambitious of, as that we should be united in Councils and Actions; and whersoever your Fleet shall come upon my*

my Coast, I shall joyn them immediately with an Army: And whereas on my Borders there are no Christians, nor Christian Churches, I am willing to give all those Provinces, which Border upon the Mahometans, *to your Subjects to Inhabit; make haste therefore to execute what you have begun.*

In the mean time I would have you send me some of your Learned Men, *as also some* Gravers of Images *of* Gold *and* Silver, *and some* Lead, Copper, *and* Iron Smiths, *as also some* Printers, *that understand our Letters, to Print Books for our Churches, and some that know how to* make Bracelets, *and how to* Gild Metals, *they shall be all well entertained in my Palace, and whenever they shall have a mind to return home, they shall be well Rewarded for their Pains; and I do Swear by Christ Jesus, who is God, and the Son of God, that they shall have free leave to depart.*

This I do desire and expect from your known Virtue and Goodness, being sensible that you have a great kindness for me, by your having treated Matthew *so Honourably and Liberally, and by having sent him back as you did.*

I do most earnestly desire to have all the forementioned Artificers *sent hither, and do promise that you shall never have any cause to repent of your having sent them; for I will take care that they shall all be well rewarded; wherefore since a Father ought not to deny what his Son desires of him, and you are my Father, and I am your Son, let us be joyned together as two Bricks are in a Wall, that so we may be two with one Heart, and may agree in the Love of Christ Jesus, who is the Head of the World, all that are in him being as Bricks joyned together in a Wall.* Amen.

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The Letters of the ſame David *Emperor of* Ethiopia, *to King* John *the* III*d. of* Portugal, *written in the Year* 1524.

In the Name of God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things that are made, viſible and inviſible: In the Name of God the Son, the Council and Prophet of the Father; and in the Name of the Holy Ghoſt, the Comforter and living God: Who is equal to the Father and the Son, and who ſpoke by the mouth of the Prophets, and inſpired the Apoſtles, that they might Thank and Praiſe the Perfect Trinity in Heaven and on Earth, and in the Depths always. Amen.

I *The* Frankincenſe of the Virgin, *for that was my Baptiſmal Name, but who with the Scepter of my Kingdom have taken the Name of* David. *The Beloved of God,* the Pillar of the Faith, the Offspring of Judah, *the Son of* David, *the Son of* Solomon, *Kings of* Iſrael, *the Son of the Pillar of* Sion, *of the ſeed of* Jacob, *the Son of the hand of* Mary, *the Son of* Nau *by the Fleſh; do ſend theſe Letters and this Ambaſſador, to the Greateſt, moſt Powerful, and High,* John *King of* Portugal *and* Algerves, *the Son of King* Emanuel: *Peace be with you, the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you always.* Amen.

When I heard of the Power of the King your Father, by whom the Moors, *the Sons of the filthy* Mahomet, *were ſubdued, I gave great Thanks*

Thanks to God for the Increaſe and the Greatneſs of the Crown of Conſervation in the Houſe of Chriſtianity. *I did likewiſe take great pleaſure in the arrival of the Ambaſſadors who brought that King's words to us, becauſe by that means a ſingular Love, Friendſhip, and Correſpondence, was eſtabliſhed betwixt us, in order to the Extirpating of all the Wicked* Mahometans *and the Unbelieving* Heathens *that lie betwixt our two Kingdoms. But while I was full of this Joy, before I had ſent any Ambaſſador to him, I received the News of your and my Father's Death, which turned my Joy ſuddenly into Sorrow, whereof our Court, Prelates, and Monks, and, in a word, all our Faithful Subjects, did deeply partake: Our Sorrow upon this News becoming equal to our former Joy.*

Sir, From the beginning of my Reign there was no Ambaſſador nor Envoy ſent to me by the King or Kingdom of Portugal, *but by your Father, who ſent ſome of his Captains hither, and with them ſome of his Nobles, and Clarks, and Deacons, who brought with them all the Utenſils of a Solemn Maſs.*

I muſt tell you, I was overjoyed at their arrival, and did receive them with great Affection, diſmiſſing them after they had done their Buſineſs, that ſo they might return home in Peace and with Honour: But being come to the Port of the Red-Sea *that is on my Borders, they found the Admiral of their Fleet gone; who, as he certified me himſelf, could wait no longer for them, by reaſon of a Cuſtom that you have, of changing your Admiral every Third Year, which, together with no other Fleets having touched at any of my Ports for ſome Years after, was the cauſe of your Ambaſſador's*

baſſador's having ſtaid ſo long at my Court.

I do now ſend, what I deſire of you, by Brother Chriſtopher Licanot, *whoſe Baptiſmal Name is* Zaga Zabo, *that is to ſay,* The Grace of the Father, *who will lay my Demands before you. I do likewiſe ſend* Francis Alvarez *to the Pope, to yeild Obedience to him in my Name, as it is juſt I ſhould.*

O Lord my Brother King, attend and apply your ſelf to the Friendſhip that was begun betwixt us by your Father, and do not neglect to ſend Letters and Ambaſſadors to us frequently; for I am extremely deſirous to receive them from you, as from my Brother: And ſince we are both Chriſtians, and the Mahometans, *though Wicked, are ſtill in Peace with all of their own Sect, it is fit it ſhould be the ſame betwixt us. And I do declare, That for the future I will receive no Embaſſy from the King of* Egypt, *nor from any of thoſe Kingdoms, which have formerly ſent Ambaſſadors to us, nor from no other King but only from your Highneſs, from whom I do earneſtly deſire to have them come; for the* Mahometan *Kings, by reaſon of the difference that is betwixt us in Religion, do never look upon me as their Friend, and do only pretend to have a Kindneſs for me, that they may Trade with the more conveniency and ſecurity within my Dominions, from whence they draw great Profit, exporting Yearly great Quantities of Gold, whereof they are extremely Covetous, while at the ſame time they have no real Friendſhip for me, for which reaſon I take no pleaſure in their Gain; but this having been a Cuſtom of my Anceſtors, was to be endured; though after all, the only thing that hinders me from making War upon them, and Confounding them,*

them, is the fear of provoking them thereby to violate and deſtroy the Temple of Jeruſalem, *where the Sepulchre of Chriſt is, which God hath been pleaſed to leave in the hands of thoſe filthy* Mahometans, *and to demoliſh the Churches that are in* Egypt *and* Syria; *this is the only cauſe why I do not Invade and Conquer them, which I am ſorry I am not at liberty to do.*

O King, I can by no means rejoyce in the Chriſtian Kings of Europe, *who, as I am informed, do not agree in one heart, but are at War one with another; be you all Unanimous, and in Friendſhip one with another; for my own part, had I a Chriſtian King in my Neighbourhood, I would never be abſent from him. I do not know what to ſay of theſe matters, nor what to do, ſince God ſeems to have ordained things to be as they are.*

My Lord, let me have Ambaſſadors from you frequently; for when I ſee your Letters I think I behold your face; there being a greater Friendſhip betwixt thoſe that live far aſunder, than betwixt Neighbours, by reaſon of the ſtronger deſire they have one for another; for he that has hid his Treaſure thinks the oftner of it, and loves it the more for not ſeeing it, according to what Chriſt ſaith in his Goſpel, Where your treaſure is there will your hearts be alſo; *my heart is therefore with you, becauſe you are my Treaſure, and you ought alſo to make me your Treaſure, ſo as ſincerely to joyn your Heart with ours.*

O Lord and Brother, obſerve this word, for I am told you are very Wiſe, and in Wiſdom like your Father, of which, when I was informed, I returned Thanks to God for it, and throwing away Sorrow, did put on Joy, and ſaid, Bleſſed be

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the Son that is Wife, *and* who has a great Head; *the Son of King* Emanuel *who ſits upon the Throne of his Kingdoms.*

Sir, Have a care you do not grow weary, ſince you are no leſs Valiant than your Father, and do not diſcover your ſelf to be Weak againſt the Mahometans *and* Gentiles, *whom, with God's Aſſiſtance, you may eaſily Conquer; and have a care how you ſay, The Forces left me by my Father are ſmall; for they are abundantly ſufficient, and God will always help you: I have* Men, Gold, *and* Proviſions, *like the* Sand of the Sea, *and the* Stars of Heaven; *ſo that we two being United, may with eaſe deſtroy the whole Barbarous Race of* Mahometans; *I deſire nothing of you, but Experienced Officers to Diſcipline and Command my Soldiers.*

O King, thou art of a juſt Age, whereas Solomon *took the Government upon himſelf when he was but* 12 *years old, and notwithſtanding that had great Power, and was wiſer than his Father. I alſo when* Nau *my Father died, was but* 11 *years of Age, and have, notwithſtanding that, with God's aſſiſtance, acquired more Power and Riches ſince I ſate on the Throne of my Father, than ever he had; having conquered all the Neighbouring Nations and Kingdoms; we have both cauſe therefore to thank God for ſo ſingular a benefit. Hearken to me, Brother, and Lord; for there is one thing I muſt requeſt of you, which is, That you would ſend me ſome of your* Learned Men, *as alſo ſome* Artificers, *that underſtand how to make* Images, *and how to* Print Books, *and to make* Swords, *and all ſorts of* Military Weapons, *with ſome* Maſons, Carpenters, *and* Phyſicians *and* Surgeons, *and ſome who*

who skill to beat Gold, *and* gild, *and how* to work in Mines: *I would also have some that know how to* cover Houses with Lead, *and to* make Tile; *in a word, all sorts of* Artificers *shall be welcom to me, namely, such as* make Pistols. *Help me, I beseech you, to all these things, as one Brother ought to help another, and then God will help you out of your Troubles.*

The Lord hear your Prayers, and Petitions, as he has received holy Sacrifices at all times, namely, the Sacrifices of Abel, *and of* Noah *when he was in the Ark, and that of* Abraham *when he was in the Land of* Madiam, *and of* Isaac *when he went from the Trench of the Oak, and of* Jacob *in the House of* Bethlem, *and that of* Moses *in* Egypt, *and of* Aaron *in the Mount, and of* Joshua *the Son of* Nun *in* Galgala, *and of* Gideon *on the Rock, of* Sampson *when he was in a dry and thirsty Land, and of* Samuel *in* Rama *of the Prophets, and of* David *in* Naceea, *and of* Solomon *in the City of* Gabeon, *and of* Elias *in Mount* Carmel, *when he raised the Daughter of the Widow over the Pit to life; and of* Jehosaphet *in* Battail, *and of* Manasses *when he turned to God after having sinned, and of* Daniel *in the* Den of Lions, *and of the three Companions,* Sidrach, Mesack *and* Abednego, *in the* fiery Furnace, *and of* Hannah *before the Altar, and of* Nehemiah, *who together with* Zerobabel *built the Walls; and of* Matathias *with his Sons, on the fourth part of the Earth; and of* Esau *upon* the Blessed: *In the same manner may God receive your Sacrifices, and Supplications; and assist you, and be on your side against all wickedness, at all times.*

Peace

Peace be with you; I do embrace you with the Arms of Holineſs; as I do alſo your whole Council, and all your Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, and all Men and Women; the Grace of God, and the Bleſſing of the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of God, be with you, and with all People. *Amen.*

The Letter of David, *Emperor of* Ethiopia, *to the* Roman *Pontiff, in the Year* 1524.

In the name of God, the Father Almghty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible; in the name of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, who was the ſame with him from the beginning of the World, and who is Light of Light, and very God of very God; and in the name of God the Holy Ghoſt, who is true God, and proceedeth from the Father.

I *The King, at whoſe Name the Lyons do tremble, who am by the Grace of God called* Achami Tinghil, *that is the* Frankincenſe of the Virgin; *the Son of King* David, *the Son of* Solomon, *the Son of the Hand of* Mary, *the Son of* Nau *by the Fleſh, and by Grace the Son of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul; *do ſend theſe Letters.*

Peace be with you.

O *Juſt*

O Juſt Lord, and holy, powerful, pure and ſacred Father, who art the head of all Biſhops, and feareſt no-body, becauſe there is none that hath power to curſe thee, who art the moſt watchful Curate of all Souls, and the Friend of Pilgrims, and the ſacred Maſter and Preacher of the Faith, and the Enemy of every thing that offends the Conſcience, and the lover of all good Manners, and a holy Perſon, whom all do bleſs and praiſe.

O happy and holy Father, I do obey you with reverence, becauſe you are the peace of all, and do deſerve whatſoever is good; ſo that it is but juſt, that according to the divine Commands of the Apoſtles, all ſhould yield obedience to you: This belongs to you; but they have likewiſe commanded us to reverence all Biſhops, Archbiſhops and Prelates, and to love you as a Father, and to reverence you as a King, and to believe in you as a God.

For which cauſe I do humbly with bended knees, and with a ſincere heart, tell you, holy Father, That you are my Father, and I am your Son.

Holy and moſt mighty Father, Why have you never ſent any Nuncio's to us, to be informed of our health; for ſince you are our Paſtor, and we are your Sheep, you ought not to have been unmindful of us, nor ought you to have reckoned us to have been too remote from your Territories, for your Nuncio's to have viſited us; ſeeing from the moſt remote Kingdom of the Earth, that is Portugal, *your Son, King* Emanuel, *has commodiouſly ſent his Ambaſſadors to us; ſo that if God had deferred calling him to Heaven, the things he and I were treating about, had undoubtedly had a happy Iſſue before this time.*

I ſhould be glad to hear healthful things from you by certain Nuncio's, having never had a word from your Holineſs, nor heard of you by any other way, but by ſome of our vowed Pilgrims, who neither carried Letters from us to you, nor brought any from you to us; and who therefore, when we enquired of them, could only tell us, That going from Jeruſalem, *after they had performed their Vows there, to viſit the Threſholds of the Apoſtles at* Rome, *they had ſeen you, giving us a general Account of your Affairs. I took great pleaſure in their Relations, beholding in them the Image of your holy Countenance, which appeared to me to be like that of an Angel; and I muſt own, that I do love and reverence you: Nevertheleſs, it would be much more grateful to me, devoutly to contemplate your Words and Letters: I muſt therefore beg it of you, that you would ſend a Nuncio to me, to exhilerate my heart with your Bleſſing; for ſince we agree in* Faith *and* Religion, *that is the thing of the World that I deſire moſt, and that my* Frieudſhip *may be as the* Ring *you wear on your Finger, or as the* Gold Chain *that is about your Neck, that ſo I may be always in your heart and memory:* Friendſhip *being much increaſed by grateful Words and Letters, when holy Peace, from which all human Joy doth flow naturally, embraceth them: For as one that is very thirſty is extreamly deſirous* of cold water, *as the Scripture has it; ſo Nuncio's and Letters coming to me from remote parts, either from your Holineſs, or any Chriſtian King, will fill my heart with extraordinary Pleaſures; ſuch as theirs are filled with, who after a Victory, come to gather rich Spoils: All this may be done with great eaſe, now the King of* Portugal *has opened a*

way

way to it; who some times since sent Ambassadors, with other Persons of Quality, to us, which was a thing had never been done by any Christian King, *or* Pope, *before to any of our* Ancestors: *Only in the* Archives *of our Great Grandfather* Zera Jacob, *who was* King *of all the* Kings *of* Ethiopia, *and a most Formidable* Prince, *the* Copies *of some* Letters *to him from* Eugenius *the* Roman Pontiff *are still preserved, the purport whereof is as followeth.*

" EUgenius *the* Roman Pontiff, *to our beloved Son King* Zara Jacob, *the* King " *of all the* Kings *of* Ethiopia, *and who is mightily dreaded:* He goes on, and tells him, *That his Son* John Paleologus, *who had been dead two years, the* King *of the* Kings *of the* Romans, *had been called by him to celebrate a holy* Synod, *to which he came accompanied by* Joseph *the* Patriarch *of* Constantinople, *and a great many other* Archbishops, Bishops, *and* Prelates, *as also with the* Procurators *of the* Patriarchs *of* Antioch, Alexandria, *and* Jerusalem, *who had all united themselves to him, in the love of the* holy Faith, *and* Religion: *So that now the* Unity of the Church *was re-established, and all the* old Controversies, *thro' God's assistance, were ended; and whatever was erroneous, and contrary to* Religion, *dissipated, and right Order restored, which had filled all People with joy.*

We do here send you that Letter *of* Eugenius, *which has been preserved entire, and would likewise have sent you the whole Order and Power of*

the Pontifical Benediction ; *had it not been so large a* Volume, *it being bigger than the Book of* Paul *to the* Gentiles ; *the* Nuncio's *that brought these* Papers *from the* Pope *hither, were* Theodore, Peter, Didimus, *and* George, *the* Servants *of* Jesus Christ : *You would do well,* holy Father, *to command your* Papers *to be looked over, among which, it is like, you will meet with some* Records *of these* Matters. *You may see by this,* holy Father, *that if you should be pleased to write any thing to us, the memory thereof will be preserved in our* Archives *thorough all Ages : And happy is the Man whose Memory is preserved in the* Records *of the* holy City *of* Rome, *the* Chair *of St.* Peter, *and St.* Paul, *who are the* Lords *of the* Kingdom of Heaven, *and the* Judges *of the World* ; *and my believing them to be so, was the cause of my writing these* Letters *to your* Holiness, *that I may obtain your Favour, and that of your* holy Conclave, *and therewithal all sorts of Blessings, and the increase of all good things.*

I do furthermore supplicate your Holiness, *to send us the* Images *of some* Saints, *namely, that of the blessed* Virgin Mary, *that by that means your* Holiness *may be frequent in our Mouths, and Memories, and that I may be always delighting my self in your Gifts : For the same reason I do earnestly intreat you, to send me some* Learned Men, *and* Artificers, *namely,* Carvers of Images, Sword-Cutlers, *and* Gunsmiths, *and* Gilders, *and* Carpenters, *but especially* Artificers *who know how to Build Houses with* Stone, *and to cover them with* Lead *and* Copper ; *I should be glad likewise, to have some that understand how*

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to make Glaſs, *and* Muſical Inſtruments, *and how to play well upon them, with ſome* Pipers *and* Trumpeters: *Theſe* Artificers *I deſire chiefly from your* Holineſs; *but in caſe you ſhould have none to ſpare, I muſt intreat you to order ſome of the* Chriſtian Kings, *your Sons, who are all at your Commands, to ſend them unto me: Which* Artificers, *when they arrive here, ſhall be treated honourably, and rewarded according to their deſerts; they ſhall alſo have good Wages, and whenever they ſhall deſire it, they ſhall have free leave to return home, and be well rewarded for their pains; for I will detain no body againſt his will, how beneficial ſoever his ſtay ſhould be to me: But to paſs to other things.*

I muſt expoſtulate with you, holy Father: *Why do you not exhort the* Chriſtian Kings, *your Sons, to lay down their Arms, as becomes Brethren, and to agree among themſelves; ſeeing they are all your Sheep, and you are their Paſtor? Your* Holineſs *is not ignorant of the Goſpel-Commands, and of its having ſaid,* A kingdom divided againſt it ſelf cannot ſtand, but will become deſolate. *For if thoſe Kings would but all join together, they would quickly deſtroy all the* Mahometans, *and with eaſe demoliſh the* Sepulchre *of their* Falſe Prophet: *Apply your ſelf therefore to this,* holy Father, *that ſo there may be a firm Peace and Confederacy eſtabliſhed among them, and exhort them to aſſiſt us, who are beſieged on all ſides by* Wicked Mahometans, *and* Moors: *The* Turks *and* Moors *can aſſiſt one another, and their* Kings *and* Rulers *do all agree together: I have a* Mahometan *for my Neighbour, who is conſtantly ſupplied with* Arms, Horſes, *and all* Military Weapons, *by Princes of his own*

Sect, namely, the Kings of India, Persia *and* Egypt; *this is a great mortification to me, to see the Enemies of the* Christian Religion *enjoy Peace, and live together like Brethren; and at the same time, to see* Christian Kings, *my Brethren, not in the least concerned at the Injuries I endure; not one of them offering to succour me as becomes a* Christian, *notwithstanding the filthy Sons of* Mahomet *are always ready to succor one another; not that I desire any Soldiers of them, for I have enough of my own, and to spare; but all that I desire of them, is, only their Prayers and Supplications, and your* Holiness, *and my* Brethren's *Favour: The reason why I want your Friendship, is, that I may be furnished by you with such things as are necessary to terrify the* Mahometans, *the Enemies of the Name of* Christ: *And that my Neighbours may be made sensible of my being favoured by the* Christian Kings, *my* Brethren, *and of their being ready to assist me whenever there shall be occasion; which would be much for the honour of all of us that are of the same* Faith *and* Religion, *and do intend to persist therein.*

God fulfil your Desires to the praise of Jesus Christ, and of God our Father, who is praised by all thorow all Ages; and you, my Lord, and holy Father, with all the Saints of Christ at Rome, *embrace me; and let all my Subjects, and all that dwell in* Ethiopia, *be received with the same Embraces; and let thanks be returned to Christ with your Spirit.*

These Letters your Holiness will receive from my Brother, John, *King of* Portugal, *the most Powerful Son of King* Emanuel, *who will send them to you by our Ambassador* Francisco Alvarez.

A Second

A Second Letter of David, *Emperor of* Ethiopia, *to the* Roman *Pontiff, written in the Year* 1524.

HAppy *and holy Father, who art made by God the Conservator of the Nations, and who dost sit in the Chair of St.* Peter; To thee are given the keys of the kingdom of heaven; so that whatsoever thou binded or loosest on earth, is bound and loose in heaven, *according to what Christ hath said in St.* Matthew's *Gospel.*

I the King, at whose Name the Lyons tremble, who at my Baptism was called Atami Tinghil, *that is the* Frankincense of the Virgin, *but who, when I took the Administration of my Empire upon me, assumed the Names of* David *the Beloved of God, the* Pillar of Faith, *the Prince of* Judah, *the Son of* Solomon, *the Son of the Pillar of* Sion, *the Son of* Zara Jacob, *the Son of the Hand of* Mary, *the Son of* Nau *by the Flesh, Emperor of the Great and High* Ethiopia, *and of vast Kingdoms and Dominions; King of* Xoa, *and* Caffate, *and* Fatigar, Angot, Baru, Baaltinganze, Adea, Vanga, *and* Mahon, *and* Saba, *from whence the Queen of* Saba *went, and* Barnagays; *the Lord of all* Nubia, *to the Confines of* Egypt: *All which Countries, and a great many more not here mentioned, are under our Dominion; neither have I mentioned the fore-named out of Pride, or Vaingloy, or for any other reason, but that the Great God may be the more praised, who of his singular bounty has been pleased to bestow the foresaid Chri-*

ſtian Empires upon my Anceſtors; and who hath likewiſe been gracious to me, after a ſpecial manner, that I might conſtantly do ſervice to his Religion; making me Lord of Adel, *and the Scourge of the* Mahometans, *and* Gentiles, *who do worſhip Idols: I do after the manner of other Chriſtian Kings, my Brethren, to whom I am no-ways inferior, either in Power or Religion, ſend to kiſs your Holineſs's Feet: Within my own Territories, I am the Pillar of Faith, neither am I aſſiſted with any Foraign Succors, but I do place my whole truſt and confidence in God, as my Anceſtors did before me, who have all been ſuſtained and governed by him, ever ſince his Angel ſpoke to* Philip, *who inſtructed the* Eunuch *of the powerful Queen* Candace, *Empreſs of* Ethiopia, *in the Faith, as he was coming from* Jeruſalem *to* Gaza; Philip *then baptized the* Eunuch, *and the* Eunuch *afterwards baptized the Queen, with the greateſt part of her Court, and People, who from that day to this, have continued Chriſtians, and ſtrong in the Faith: My Anceſtors, without any other than Divine Aſſiſtance, have propagated the Faith thorow vaſt Regions, which I likewiſe labour daily to do; being fixed between the large Borders of my Kingdoms, as a Lyon encompaſſed within a Wood; and ſtrongly fortified againſt the* Mahometans, *and other Nations, that are Enemies to the Chriſtian Faith, and who will not give ear to the Word of God, and my Exhortation: For which reaſon, I with my Sword girt about me, do perſecute them, and will by degrees expel them, relying on the Divine Aſſiſtance, which is never wanting to me, which is more than all Chriſtan Kings can ſay, who, if they would but agree together, might with*

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the help of your Blessing, easily enlarge the Bounds of their Empires; of which Blessing I do partake. Among our Books there being Letters which were sent by Pope Eugenius *with his Blessing to* Zera Jacob; *which Blessing having descended to me, I do now enjoy it, and rejoyce in it mainly.*

The Holy Temple of Jerusalem *is a place I have great Veneration for, and do frequently send Oblations to it by our Pilgrims; and I would send both more and greater, were I not Besieged on all sides by* Mahometans *and* Infidels; *who besides that they Rifle our Messengers, will not allow them a free passage; whereas if the ways were but once opened, I should then be able to Correspond with the* Roman Church, *as well as other Christians, to whom, as to the Christian Religion, I am nothing inferior; for as they believe One Right Faith, and One Church, so I do profess the same, and do most sincerely believe in the Holy Trinity, and in One God, and in the Virginity of our Lady the Virgin* Mary; *I do also hold all the Articles of the Christian Faith, and do keep them as they were writ by the Apostles.*

And now that our good God has been pleased, by the hand of the most Potent and Christian King Emanuel, *to open a way by which we may Correspond by Ambassadors; since we are joyned in the Faith, let us likewise with all other Christians joyn together in the service of God. During the time the Ambassadors of that King were at our Court, we received the News of his Death, and of his Son, and my Brother* John, *having Succeeded to the Crown; and as I was extremely afflicted at the News of the Death of the Father, so I did very much rejoyce to hear of his Son's having*

having ſucceeded him; for I do hope that by joyning our forces, we ſhall be able to open a paſſage both by Sea and Land, thorow the Regions of the Wicked Mahometans, *and to terrifie them to that degree, as to drive them quite out of thoſe Countries, ſo that Chriſtians may go to, and return from* Jeruſalem *without any moleſtation; and I do moſt vehemently deſire to partake of the Divine Love in the Temple of the Apoſtles* Peter *und* Paul: *I do likewiſe deſire to receive the moſt Holy Bleſſing of Chriſt's Vicar, which your Holineſs is undoubtedly. And as the things I hear of your Holineſs by our Pilgrims, which go from hence to* Jeruſalem, *and from thence to* Rome, *and that not without a Miracle, do fill me with incredible Joy and Pleaſure; ſo there is nothing I would rejoyce in ſo much, as to have a ſhorter way found out for my Ambaſſadors, that ſo I might hear from you before I die, which I truſt in God I ſhall do by ſome means or other. I beſeech God to preſerve you in Health and and Holineſs.*

I Kiſs your holy Feet, and do humbly beg your Bleſſing. Your Holineſs will receive theſe Letters from our Brother, *John* King of *Portugal*, who will ſend them to you by our Ambaſſador *Francis Alvarez*.

The *Habaſſin* Embaſſy to the Pope little regarded.

We may judge what mean thoughts King *John* had of theſe Letters and Ambaſſadors to the Pope, by their lying unregarded Five Years at *Lisbon* before they were ſent to *Rome*; and by his ſending them at laſt, only to do Honour to his Nehpew *Don Martin de Portugal*, when

when he sent him Ambassador to that Court with the following Letter.

To the most Holy Father in Christ, and the most Blessed Lord, Pope* Clement *the* IIId. *by Divine Providence presiding over the whole Church.

To the most Holy Father in Christ, and the most Blessed Lord, the most devout Son of the same Holiness, John, *by the Grace of God, King of* Portugal *and* Algarves *on this side and the other side of the Sea of* Africk, *Lord of* Guinea, *and of the Conquests, Navigation, and Commerce of* Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, *and* India: *After having most humbly kissed your Holy feet.*

After having lain five years neglected at *Lisbon*, it was sent to *Rome*, only as an honourable Appendix to a *Portuguese* Embassy.

MOST *Holy Father in Christ, and most Blessed Lord: The King, my Lord and Father, being sensible how acceptable it would be to God, that the most remote Regions of* Ethiopia *and* India, *which in these parts had been only heard of by a doubtful fame, should be Sailed to by the industrious Navigation of Christians, did at the beginning of his Reign, send divers of his Captains and Subjects with great Fleets, to discover the Coasts of those Countries; which he did to that end, that the* Mahometans *and* Heathens *of those Climates might be brought to acknowledge the Truth of the* Christian Faith, *not knowing but that some* Nations *which were* Christians *already, (for such there were reported to be) might be found out in the Course of such Discoveries; thus thorough*

rough the Divine Direction, the whole Country of Guinea *was travelled over, in which the King of* Manicongo, *with vast numbers of his Subjects, was Baptized; as were several other Nations in* India, Persia, *and* Arabia, *by the Industry and Piety of our Subjects; and even those Provinces which were not forward at first to embrace* Christianity, *do now begin to follow the Example of their Neighbours; who notwithstanding the great Losses he sustained in his Ships, Captains, Nobles, and other Subjects, was not, as becomes a Pious Christian, discouraged thereby, so as to give over those Voyages, in the Progress whereof our Fleets have penetrated into the* Red-Sea, *in which no Christian Ship had ever been before, that* Sea *being wholly in the hands of the* Turks; *and did after a long and sharp War discover the Coasts of the most Potent King of* Ethiopia, *who is commonly called* Pretegya, *and who with all his Subjects is a Worshipper of Christ; to which King our Father immediately dispatched an Ambassador, with an intention to reduce him to the Obedience of the Holy Apostolical See; by certifying him, That your Holiness sits in the Chair of St.* Peter, *and are the only Vicar of Christ upon Earth, to whom all Christian Kings do with great Veneration use to yield Obedience. And not long after, the said King of* Ethiopia *sent two Ambassadors, in Company with ours when they returned home; one of which was his Natural-born Subject, and the other a Stranger; during which time, God was pleased to take our Father's Soul to himself; and we having succeeded him in the Throne, did withour delay endeavour by our Captains that were in* India, *to certify the said*

said King of Ethiopia *of our Father's Death, and of our Resolution to carry on and finish what he had so gloriously begun for the Service of Christianity: This our Declaration having been highly extolled by the said King, he thereupon dispatched an Ambassador to us, who is still Resident at our Court, and with him our Chaplain* Francis Alvarez, *who was one of the Ambassadors sent into* Ethiopia *by our Father. This* Francis Alvarez *is now sent by the said King to* Rome, *to yield Obedience to your Holiness in that King's Name, and in the Name of all his Subjects: We have detained him here for some time, being willing for divers Reasons, that he should accompany our dear Nephew,* Martin de Portugal, *our Councellor and Ambassador, whom we have ordered to present the said* Francis Alvarez, *Ambassador of the said King of* Ethiopia, *to your Holiness, to yield Obedience to you; as also to acquaint you with what the Ambassador of the said King that was sent to us, has laid before us, together with the Copies of that King's Letters to us; wherefore your Holiness will do a thing that will be very acceptable unto God, if in all this Affair you do give entire Credit to the said* Martin, *our Ambassador; for certainly great thanks ought to be returned to God, for having in the time of your* Pontificate *done so great a favour to your Holiness, that a Portion of Christians, who as to the largness of their Country, are nothing inferior to this of ours, should consent to the Catholick Faith, and to the* Roman *Church, by yielding Obedience to it. We for our parts are very thankful to God, for having made use of our Ministry in the Reduction of this King: There being nothing more for the praise of*

true

true Piety, than to behold Ethiopia *joyned with* Europe *in the Unity of the Christian Profession. May our Lord God be pleased to encrease and preserve the Felicity of your Holiness according to your own desire.*

Dated at *Settuval* the 28*th* of *May*, 1532.

King *John* having made the *Habassin* Emperor's Complements, in his Letters to the Pope, to amount to a formal submission of himself, his Church and Empire, to him, must make his having detained an Embassage of that Moment, and which he himself Magnifies so much, so long at *Lisbon*, to be the more wonderful: But what it should be, that after having slighted this Embassy for five long Years, induced him to trump it up thus, if it were not to do his Nephew Honor, is a Mystery I shall leave to the Reader to unriddle; having only observed, that there were two Creations of Cardinals soon after it came to *Rome*.

The *Portugueſe* and *Habaſſin* Ambaſſadors had their Audience of the Pope at *Bononia*.

The *Portugueſe* and *Habaſſin* Ambaſſadors being arrived at *Bononia*, where the Pope and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth were together at that time, they had the 29th of *January* given them for the Day of their publick Audience. When being introduced into a publick Consistory, at which the Emperor was present; the *Portugueſe* presented his Master's Letters to the Pope, together with the Copies of those which had been sent to him and his Father by the King of *Ethiopia*. When the

the *Portugueſe* had done, the *Habaſſin* preſented his Maſter's Letters to the Pope, and with them a Gold Croſs that weighed about a Pound. And having made the ſubmiſſion of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, and of his whole Church and Empire, to his Holineſs, he was afterwards admitted to kiſs his Foot, and after that his Hand, and at laſt his Mouth; and having delivered the following Speech in *Portugueſe*, it was ſpoke aloud in *Latin* by the Secretary of the *Portugueſe* Embaſſy.

The *Habaſſin* Ambaſſador's ſubmiſſion to the Pope.

MOST *Holy and Bleſſed Father, the moſt Serene and Potent Lord* David, *King of the Great and High* Ethiopia, *who is commonly called* Pretegya, *and who is no leſs glorious for the veneration he has for the True Religion, than for his Empire, Wealth, and Kingdoms, has ſent this Ambaſſador to your Holineſs with the Letters he has delivered to you, commanding him to yield obedience and ſubjection to your Holineſs, in his Name, and in that of his Kingdoms, as Chriſt's Vicar, and St.* Peter's *Succeſſor, and the Chief Pontiff of the whole Church, and to preſent you with a* Gold Croſs, *which he hopes your Holineſs, not regarding the value thereof, which is but ſmall, but the veneration that is due to it, for Chriſt's having ſuffered thereon for our ſakes, will be pleaſed to accept of; beſeeching your Holineſs, in the name of the ſaid Prince, to accept of all that he has offered, with a pious affection of a Father, for your moſt devout Son.*

To which Harangue the Pope's Secretary return'd the following Anſwer.

Our

The Pope's Answer to the *Habassin* Ambassador.

OUR most holy Lord doth receive you, my Lord Francis Alvarez, *the Ambassador of the most serene* David, *King of* Ethiopia, *together with his Obedience, Gift and Letters, with a good Will, and Paternal Affection, and doth return Thanks to God that such Letters, and such an Ambassador should come in the time of his* Pontificate, *from so great and remote a Christian Emperor; he hath heard what you have said, with Attention and great Joy, and has with his Venerable Brethren, the Cardinals, graciously accepted of your Master's Obedience, as also of his Gift, both for the Honour that is due to the Holy Cross, and the good Affection of the Donor. And he doth furthermore highly extol, in the Lord, the most serene King of* Portugal, *who besides the other great Services done by himself and Progenitors, to the Commonwealth and Christian Faith, has likewise deserved well of King* David, *by having entred into an Alliance with him, and having procured your being sent with these Letters to the Pope. What remains is, his Holiness will endeavour to the utmost of his Power, so far as the great distance that is betwixt their Countries will permit, so to satisfie the desires of the said King, as to make him sensible of his being in the Place of a most dear Son in Christ, and in the Affection and Esteem of his Holiness, and the Holy Apostolical See, no less than other Christian Princes. And his Holiness will treat with the Ambassador of* Portugal *and you concerning these Affairs, and will by his Letters and Nuncio's Return an Answer to all that your King has desired.*

Zaga

Zaga Zaba having nothing elſe to do at *Lisbon*, and being willing to ingratiate himſelf with that Court, by repreſenting the *Habaſſin* Church as agreeing with the *Roman* in the Chief Doctrines wherein the *Reformers* contradict her; did put Pen to Paper, and drew up the following Account of the Religion, Cuſtoms, and Rites of his Countrey.

Zaga Zaba's (the *Habaſſin* Ambaſſador at *Liſbon*) Account of the Religion and Cuſtoms of his Countrey.

An Account of the Habaſſin *Religion, and Cuſtoms, compoſed by* Zaga Zaba, *the King of* Ethiopia's *Ambaſſador; and written with his own Hand at* Lisbon.

In the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

WE believe in the Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, who are One Lord, and Three Names; One Divinity, and Three Faces, though but One Similitude; and are an equal conjunction of Perſons; equal, I ſay, in Divinity; One Kingdom, One Throne, One Word, One Spirit; the Word of the Father, and the Son, and the Word of the Holy Spirit; and the Son is the ſame Word, the Word with God, the Word with the Holy Spirit, and with Himſelf, without any defect, or diviſion; the Son of the Father, the Son of the very Father, without any beginning, and at firſt the Son of the Father without a Mother; the Secret and Myſtery of whoſe Na-

tivity is known to none but the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This Son in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was the Word with God, and God was the Word: The Spirit of the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Son the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit its own Spirit; without any diminution or augmentation: That Holy Spirit is the Comforter of the living God, *who proceedeth from the Father and the Son*, and *who ſpake by the mouth of the Prophets*, and *deſcended in a flame of fire on the Apoſtles in the gate of Sion*, and *who preached the word of the Father*, which Word the very Son was all over the World; wherefore as the Father is not firſt, notwithſtanding he is the Father; nor the Son laſt, notwithſtanding he is the Son; ſo likewiſe the Holy Spirit is neither firſt nor laſt, but they are Three Perſons in One God, who ſeeth, and is ſeen by no-body; and who by his only Council created all things. The Son did of his own accord, the Father being willing, and the Holy Ghoſt conſenting, deſcend from his higheſt Habitation, and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; who was adorned with a double Virginity, the one Spiritual, the other Carnal; he was born without any Corruption, his Mother, *Mary*, remaining a Virgin after her delivery; and by a Miracle, and a ſecret Flame of the Divinity brought forth her Son Jeſus, without blood, and without pain; who was perfectly Innocent, and without Sin; being perfect God, and perfect Man; and having only one Aſpect, he grew by degrees

grees as an Infant, ſucking the Milk of the Virgin *Mary*, his Mother; and coming to Thirty Years of Age, he was baptiz'd in *Jordan*, and did walk, and was weary, and did hunger and thirſt, as other men do; all theſe things he ſuffered voluntarily, and of his own accord, and wrought many Miracles; reſtoring, by the power of his Divinity, ſight to the Blind, curing the Lame, cleanſing the *Lepers*, raiſing the Dead; after all which, he himſelf was apprehended, and whipt, and ſcourged, and crucified: He languiſhed and died for our Sins, and by his Death overcame Death, and the Devil; and by his lively Agony diſſolved our Sins, and bore our Infirmities: By the Baptiſm of his Blood, that is, his Death, he baptized the Patriarchs, and Prophets, and deſcended into Hell, where the Souls of *Adam* and his Sons were, as alſo his own Soul, which was from *Adam*, which Soul Chriſt received from the Virgin *Mary*, who by the power and ſplendor of his Divinity, and the ſtrength of his Croſs, broke the brazen fiery Gates of Hell, binding *Satan* with Iron Chains, and reſcuing *Adam* and his Sons. All theſe things Chriſt did, becauſe he was full of the Divinity; and the Divinity it ſelf was with his Soul, as it was alſo with his moſt holy Body, which Divinity gave virtue to the Croſs, and was what he always had, and will have for ever, in Trinity and Unity in common with the Father: Neither did Chriſt, during the time he was in the Fleſh, ever want the Divinity and Dignity thereof for one moment. He was buried, and

on the third day Jesus Christ himself, the Prince of the Resurrection, the most sweet Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ the Prince of the Priests, Jesus Christ the King of *Israel*, did with great power and strength rise, and after having finished all things which were foretold by the holy Prophets, he ascended with glory into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and will come with glory, carrying a Cross before him, and in his hand a Sword of Justice, to judge the quick and the dead, of whose Kingdom there shall be no end. I believe one Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church; I believe one Baptism, which is the Remission of Sins; and I do hope for the Resurrection of the Dead, and the Life of the Age to come. *Amen.*

I believe the holy Lady *Mary* to be a Virgin both in Spirit and Flesh, and do reverence her as the Mother of God, the Charity of all Nations, the Holy of Holies, and the Virgin of Virgins. I believe in the holy Wood of the Cross, the Bed of the Agony of our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, who is our Salvation, for thorough him we are saved; which, notwithstanding it is an offence to the *Jews*, and to the *Gentiles* foolishness, we do preach, believing it to be the power of the Cross of our Lord Christ, as our Doctor St. *Paul* hath commanded. I do believe St. *Peter* to be the Rock of the Law, which Law is built upon the holy Prophets, and the Foundation and Head of the Catholick and Apostolick Church of the East and West, where the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ is; the Power of which

Church

Church is in St. *Peter*, as is alſo the Kingdom of Heaven, with which he can open and ſhut, bind and looſe, and who ſhall ſit with the other Apoſtles, his Companions, upon Twelve Seats with honour and praiſe, together with our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; who upon the Day of Judgment is to paſs Sentence upon us, which will be a day of joy to the Saints, and of ſorrow and gnaſhing of teeth to Sinners, when they ſhall be thrown into the flames of Hell, with their Father the Devil. I do believe the holy Prophets, Apoſtles, and Martyrs, and Confeſſors, to have been true Imitators of Chriſt, whom, together with the moſt holy Angels of God, I do venerate, and honour, and do in the ſame manner embrace and reverence all their Followers.

I believe there ought to be an Oral Confeſſion of all Sins made to a Prieſt, by whoſe Prayers, thorough Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I do hope to obtain the ſalvation of my Soul: I do furthermore acknowledge the *Roman* Pontiff to be the firſt Biſhop and Paſtor of all the Sheep of Chriſt. I do likewiſe obſerve and obey all Patriarchs, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, of whom he is the Head of the Miniſters of Chriſt.

This is my Faith, and Law, and the Faith and Law of the People of *Ethiopia*, who are under the Empire of *Precious John*; which Faith and Love of Chriſt are ſo eſtabliſhed among us, that neither Death, nor Fire, nor Sword, relying on Chriſt's aſſiſtance, ſhall ever be able to oblige me to deny it, this being the Faith

we are all to carry on the Day of Judgment before the Face of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

I come now to explain the Discipline, Doctrine, and Law, which the Apostles, assembled together at *Jerusalem*, did lay down in the holy Books of Synods and Canons, called by us *Manda Abethlis*, those Books of the Law of holy Church are Eight in number; concerning which, having had some discourse with several Learned Men here in *Portugal*, I never met with one that had ever heard of them before. The Observances prescribed in those Books are as followeth. (1.) That we are to fast upon all *Wednesdays*, in memory of its having been decreed by the *Jewish* Council upon that day, That Christ should be put to death: We are commanded likewise to fast upon all *Fridays*, because Christ was crucify'd, and died for our Sins on that day; upon which two days we are commanded to eat nothing till Sun-set. During the 40 days of *Lent* we are commanded to fast with Bread and Water, and to be employed seven hours in the day in Divine Service; by the same Edicts we are commanded to Administer the Sacraments in the Evenings of *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, because our Saviour expired at that time on the Cross: We are furthermore commanded to assemble together unanimously on the Lord's Day in the Church three hours after Sun-rising, to read and hear the Books of the Prophets, and afterwards to preach the Gospel, and Administer the Sacrament; they have furthermore appointed Nine days to be observed

ſerved as Feſtivities in honour of Chriſt, to wit, the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity*, the *Circumciſion*, the *Purification*, or Day of Candles, of *Baptiſm*, of *Transfiguration*, *Palm-Sunday*, until the *Octaves* of *Good-Friday*, which are twelve days, of the *Aſcenſion* and *Pentecoſt*, with their Feſtivities according to theſe Books: We are without exception to eat Fleſh every day from *Eaſter* to *Pentecoſt*, neither are we bound to faſt till after the *Octaves* of *Pentecoſt*, which is obſerved for the greater honour and veneration of the Reſurrection of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; they command us likewiſe to celebrate the Days of the Death and Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary* with great honour: But beſides the Precepts of the Apoſtles, a certain *Precious John*, whoſe name was *Zara Jacob*, ordained 33 days in every year to be kept in honour of the ſaid Bleſſed Virgin; and a day in every Month in honour of Chriſt's Nativity, which is always the 25th of the Month; and a day likewiſe in every Month to be obſerved in honour of St. *Michael*.

Furthermore, in obedience to the ſaid *Synod of the Apoſtles*, we do celebrate the day of *St.* Stephen, *and other Martyrs*, and are bound by the Inſtitution of the Apoſtles to obſerve two days, to wit, *the Sabbath*, *and Lord's-Day*, on which it is not lawful for us to do any work, no not the leaſt, on the Sabbath-Day, becauſe God, after he had finiſhed the Creation of the World, reſted thereon: Which Day, as God would have it called the *Holy of Holies*, ſo the not celebrating thereof with great honour and devotion, ſeems to be plainly contrary to God's

Will and Precept, who will *ſuffer Heaven and Earth to paſs away ſooner than his Word*; and that eſpecially, *ſince Chriſt came not to diſſolve the Law, but to fulfil it.* It is not therefore in imitation of the *Jews*, but in obedience to Chriſt, and his holy Apoſtles, that we obſerve that Day, the favour that was ſhewed herein to the *Jews* being transferred to us *Chriſtians*; ſo that, excepting *Lent*, we eat Fleſh every *Saturday* in the Year; but in the Kingdoms of *Barnagaus*, *Tigre*, and *Mahon*, the Chriſtians, according to ancient cuſtome, do eat Fleſh on all *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, even in *Lent*. We do obſerve *the Lord's-Day* after the manner of all other Chriſtians, in memory of *Chriſt's Reſurrection*: But as we are ſenſible that we have the obſervation of the *Sabbath-Day* from the *Books of the Law*, and not from thoſe *of the Goſpel*, ſo we are not ignorant that the Goſpel is the end of the Law and the Prophets: On thoſe forementioned Days, we believe the Souls of the Juſt departed this Life, not to be tormented in Purgatory, which eaſe will be granted by God to them upon thoſe two moſt holy Days, until the term of their ſuffering for their Sins is expired, and they are entirely delivered; to the ſhortning and mitigating of which Torments, we believe the Alms that are given for the relief of the Souls in Purgatory do contribute much; towards the remiſſion of which Souls, the *Patriarch grants no Indulgences, which we believe belongs to God only*, and that he only conſtitutes the time of their puniſhment; neither does the *Patriarch grant Indulgences on any occaſion.* The Goſpel obligeth

A Falſehood.

The *Abuna* never grants any Indulgences.

us to observe only the *Six Precepts*, which Christ with his own mouth has explained, as follows, *I was hungry, and you gave me meat*; *I was thirsty*, *and you gave me drink*; *I was a stranger, and you entertained me*; *naked, and you covered me*; *sick, and you visited me*; *in prison, and you came unto me*; which are all words that will be spoke by Christ at the Day of Judgment; For the Law, as St. *Paul* says, *sheweth us our sins, which Law, without Christ, none is able to keep*: *Paul* witnesseth likewise, that we are all born in sin, by reason of the Transgression and Curse of our Mother *Eve*; *Paul* saith furthermore, that we died thorough *Adam*, and do live thorough Christ, who of his infinite mercy gave us these Six Precepts, that when he comes in Majesty to judge the Quick and Dead, we may be saved: With which Words and Precepts he will on the Tremendous Day of Judgment allot everlasting Glory to the Righteous, and to the Wicked Fire and Everlasting Damnation. We do reckon only five *mortal Sins*, as they call them, which are gathered out of the last Chapter of the *Revelations*, where it is said, *Without are dogs, and witches, and unclean persons, and murtherers, and idolaters, and every one who loveth and maketh a lye.*

The *Habassins* believe Original Sin.

It is constituted by the holy Apostles, in *the Book of Synods*, that it is lawful for *Clerks to marry*, and that even after they have some knowledge of Divine Matters; who after they are married, are received into the Order of Presbyter, to which none are admitted before they are 30 years of Age; neither are

Clerks may marry.

Bastards

Baſtards ever admitted to it. Holy Orders are conferred by none but the Patriarch; and after the death of their firſt Wives, neither Biſhops nor Presbyters are permitted to marry a ſecond time, *unleſs the Patriarch ſhall think fit to diſpence with them, which he does ſometimes,* to eminent Perſons, and when it is for the Publick good: Neither are they ſuffered to *keep Concubines,* unleſs they do voluntarily give over officiating, after which they muſt no more meddle with holy things; and this is ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that the Presbyters, who marry a ſecond time, muſt not preſume ſo much as to take a conſecrated Candle in their hands; and if any Biſhop or Clerk is found to have *had a Baſtard*, he is deprived of *his Orders,* and all his Eccleſiaſtical *Benefices*; and his Goods, if he dies without Children lawfully begotten, do all go to *Precious John*, and not to the Patriarch: That it is lawful for Presbyters to have Wives, we have received from St. *Paul*, who would rather have both Clergy and Laity to marry, than to burn; who ſaith likewiſe, that a Biſhop muſt be the Husband of one Wife, that is unblameable and ſober, and in the ſame manner the Deacons; and all Eccleſiaſticks as well as Secular ought to have their own lawful Wives. Our Monks, notwithſtanding this, do not marry, and neither Laicks nor Clerks among us can have above one Wife at a time.

With us Marriages are not celebrated at the Door of the Church, but in private Houſes; we are taught likewiſe by the Conſtitution of the Apoſtles, That if a Prieſt is convicted of *Adultery,*

Adultery, Murther, Theft, or of *having given falſe Teſtimony*, that he ought to be deprived of his Orders, and puniſhed as other Malefactors in the ſame kind; and that an Eccleſiaſtick, or Layman, after having known his Wife, or having been polluted in his ſleep, ought not in 24 hours after that to enter into the Church, which Women are not to enter into, till the 7th day after their menſtrua's are over, and until they have waſhed all the Clothes they had on at that time: Furthermore, a Woman that is delivered of a Man-child, is not ſuffered to enter into the Church till after 40 days, and of a Female, not till about 80 days, which Cuſtom of the Old Law is commanded likewiſe by the Apoſtles, whoſe Laws, Conſtitutions and Precepts, we do, ſo far as we are able, obſerve in all Caſes.

The *Habaſſins* have a great veneration for their Churches.

It is likewiſe forbidden among us to ſuffer *Heathens, or Dogs,* or any other ſuch *Creatures,* to come within *our Churches*; neither is it lawful for us to go into them otherwiſe *than barefoot*; or to *laugh, walk,* or *ſpit,* or *ſpeak of ſecular things*, in them: For the Churches of *Ethiopia* are not like the Land wherein the People of *Iſrael* did *eat the Paſchal Lamb*, as they were going out of *Egypt*, where God commanded them *to eat with their ſhooes on,* and *with their loins girt,* becauſe of the *pollution of the land:* But they are like *the Mount Sinai,* where the Lord ſpoke to *Moſes,* ſaying, *Moſes, Moſes, put off thy ſhooes, for the ground whereon thou treadeſt, is holy:* Now this Mount *Sinai* was the Mother of our Churches, from which they derive their original, as the Apoſtles did from

from the Prophets, and the *New Testament* from the *Old.*

Furthermore it is not lawful for a Priest, or Layman, or any other Person of what condition soever, after the receiving of the Venerable Sacrament, *to Spit from Morning till Sunset, and whoever does it, is severely Punished.* In Memory of Christ *we are also Baptized every Year on the day of* Epiphany; which is not done by us as a thing necessary to Salvation, but only for the Praise and Glory of our Lord; Neither is there any Feast that we Celebrate with so great Solemnities as this, because it was on this day that the Most Holy Trinity first appeared manifestly, when our Lord Jesus Christ was Baptized in the River of *Jordan*, on whose Head the Holy Spirit Descended at that time, in the *Figure of a Dove*, and a Voice from Heaven said, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased:* Which Holy Spirit being in the Shape of a *White Dove*, did appear with the *Face* and *Figure* of the *Father* and *Son in One Divinity*: After the same manner Christ was seen by the Prophets under various Forms and Similitudes; first in the Figure of a *White Ram*, for the preservation of *Isaac* the Son of *Abraham*; after the same manner he called *Jacob Israel*; and *Jacob* called *Judah*, to whom he gave power over his Brethen, *A lions whelp*, saying, *My son thou wentest up to the prey, and resting didst lie down as a lion, and as a lioness, who shall rouze thee?* He manifested himself likewise to *Moses* in the Figure of a *flame of fire on mount Sinai*; and in the likeness of a *Rock*

The *Habassins* are all Baptized every year on the day of the *Epiphany.*

Rock to the Holy Prophet *Daniel*; and to *Ezekiel* as the *Son of man*; and to *Isaias* in the Form of an *Infant*; he appeared to King *David* and *Gideon in dew upon a fleece*; and besides the forementioned, was seen under divers other Similitudes by the *Holy Prophets*; under all which various Figures, he still bore the Similitude of the *Father* and the *Holy Ghost*; and since God, when he Created the World, said, *Let us make man after our own image and similitude*, and he did make *Adam* after his own Similitude ahd Image; we do for that reason say, That the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, are Three Faces in one Similitude and Divinity.

They Circumcise both Men and Women.

We have also retained Circumcision from the time of Queen *Saba* till this day; this Queen's true Name was *Maqueda*, who had Worshipped Idols after the manner of her Ancestors, until having heard much of the Wisdom of *Solomon*, she sent a Prudent Person to *Jerusalem* to certifie her whether that King's Wisdom was so great as it was reported; and after being satisfied that it was so, she took a Journey to *Jerusalem* her self, where among other things, she was Instructed by *Solomon* in the Law and the Prophets, and had the Books thereof bestowed upon her: As she was on her Journey home, she was Delivered of a Son begot by *Solomon*, whom she Named *Meilech*, and carried with her into *Ethiopia*; where having remained till he was Twenty Years Old, he went up to *Jerusalem* to Visit his Father, and to learn Knowledge and Wisdom by him; the Queen by Letters

A blind story of the Queen of *Sheba* and her Son.

intreated *Solomon* to Consecrate his Son *Meilech* King of *Ethiopia*, before the Ark of the Covenant and the Testament of the Lord, and that after such a manner, as to make it Unlawful, for the future, for a Woman to Reign in *Etoiopia*, as was then the Custom, and that the Males only in a direct Line should Inherit the Crown; *Meilech* when he came to *Jerusalem*, did with ease obtain all his Mother had desired, and instead of *Meilech*, was Named *David* by *Solomon*; who having sufficiently Instructed him in the Law and other Sciences, sent him home to his Mother, in much greater State and Splendor than he came with, sending several of the Nobles, and of their Sons, in his Train to serve him, and together with them *Azarias* a Prince among the Priests, the Son of *Sadock*, who was likewise a Sacerdotal Prince; whereupon *Azarias* put *David* upon asking leave of his Father for him to offer Sacrifice before the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord for a prosperous Journey, which he obtained; *Azarias* after having with great speed and secrecy got Tables made in imitation of the Tables of the Covenant of the Lord, did whilst he was offering Sacrifice, with great dexterity steal the true Tables of the Ark of the Covenant, and put his new ones in the place of them, none but God and himself being conscious to what he had done; this among us in *Ethiopia* is declared to be a most certain and sacred Truth, being delivered to us in the History of the said King *David*, which is a Book about the bigness of St. *Paul*'s Epistles, and very

very pleasant to read: When *David* was come to the Borders of *Ethiopia*, *Azarias* going one day into his Tent, discovered to him what he had so industriously concealed, telling him he had brought the Tables of the Covenant of the Lord along with him; whereupon *David* went straightways with him to the place where those Tables were kept, and after the example of his Grandfather *David*, danced before them with great exultation, as did also the whole Company: When he returned home, his Mother resigned the Empire to him immediately, from which time, which is now near 2600 Years to this day, the Empire of *Ethiopia* has descended from Male to Male in a Right Line. We have also ever since retained the Law of God and Circumcision, and the Ministries prescribed by *Solomon* to his Son for the Government of the Court; all which do to this day continue in the same Families, and in the same Order; neither is it lawful for the Emperor to put People of another Race into any of those Offices. Furthermore, at the Command of the said Queen *Maqueda*, Women are Circumcised also among us: Men and Women are *Circumcised on the Eighth day*, but Male-Children are not Baptized *till the Fortieth*, nor Female *till the Eightieth day* after their Birth, without it be in case of Sickness, and when that happens the Children are not allowed to *Suck their Mothers* until after they *are purified*; the Water wherein Children are Baptized is *Consecrated by Exorcisms*; and on the same day they are Christned, they *Receive the Venerable Body of Christ* under the Element of Bread. We

The Eucharist is Administred to Children when they are Baptized.

We were among the first Christians that received Baptism, that Sacrament having been brought among us by the Eunuch of *Candace* Queen of *Ethiopia*, who is spoke of in the *Acts of the Apostles*; his Name, according to our Tradition, was *Indick*, from which time to this day, both Baptism and Circumcision have been in use among us, and most Religiously and Christianly observed, and thorough God's Grace will be so for ever. We do observe nothing but what we find in the Law and the Prophets, and in the Books of the Synods of the Apostles; or if any thing else is observed by us, it is done only for the sake of Order, and for the Peace of the Church, so as not to reckon it to be a Sin not to observe it; wherefore our Circumcision is not Uncleanness, but it is the Law and Grace, which was given to our Father *Abraham*, and which he received from God as a Sign, not that he or his Sons should be Saved by Circumcision, but that his Posterity might be distinguished thereby from all other Nations; and as for what is signified by Circumcision, we do observe it exactly by having our Hearts Circumcised; neither do we Glory upon the account of Circumcision, or prefer our selves to other Christians thereupon, or reckon our selves for it the more acceptable to God, with whom there is no acceptance of Persons, as *Paul* testifies; who tells us likewise, that we cannot be Saved by Circumcision, but by Faith; for in Christ Jesus *neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature*; now by this, *Paul* did not intend

Circumcision is not observed by them as a Sacrament, but as a civil Custom.

tend to destroy the Law, but to establish it, for he himself was Circumcised, being of the Seed of *Benjamin*; he Circumcised *Timothy* likewise after he was made a Christian, his Mother being a *Jewess*, notwithstanding his Father was a *Gentile*, knowing that God approves both of Circumcision that is in Faith, and of Uncircumcision which is by Faith, for as he himself tells, *he was made all things to all men, that he might save all; to the Jews he became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews; and to those that were under the law, as if he had been under the law,* which he was not, *that he might gain those who were under the law; and to those who were without the law, as if he had been without the law,* whereas he was not without the Law of God, but was in the Law of Christ, *that he might gain them who were without the law*; he also *became weak, that he might gain the weak*; which he did, that he might shew that it was not by Circumcision, but by Faith that we must be Saved; and so when he Preached to the *Hebrews*, he spoke to them as *Hebrews*, saying, *God hath at sundry times, and in divers manners spoke to our forefathers by the Prophets*; and from thence proved to them that Christ was of the Seed of *David* according to the Flesh; he Preached likewise to them, That Christ was with our Fathers in their Tents in the Desart, and did lead them by the hand of *Joshua* into the Land of Promise; he furthermore testified, That Christ was the Prince of the Priests, and had entered into the *Holy of Holies*, which is the New Tabernacle; and had by the *Sacrifice of his*

Body and Blood, abolished the *blood of Goats and Bulls*, by which none that came, could be justified; and that he had spoke to the *Jews* in divers manners, and did suffer himself to be Worshipped by his People with divers rites, and an holy and uncorrupt Faith.

The Children of Christian Parents before they are Baptized are called *Half-Christians*.

Furthermore, Those Children are looked upon by us as *Half-Christians*; who, as I am told, are reckoned to be *Heathens* by the *Roman* Church, upon account of their dying without Baptism; whereas being the Children of the holy Blood of Parents, who have been Sanctified by Baptism and the Holy Spirit, and the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, upon which Three Testimonies, all that are Christians are reputed to be such, they ought to be esteemed *Half-Christians*; for *there are Three who bear Witness on Earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood*, as St. *John* testifieth in his first Canonical Epistle; the Gospel saith likewise, *That a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit*; wherefore the Children of *Christians* are not as the Children of the *Gentiles*, *Jews*, and *Mahometans*, who are dry Trees without Fruit, but are chosen in the Womb of their Mothers, as the Prophet *Jeremy* and *John* the Baptist were.

The Children of Christian Women are furthermore Chosen and Sanctified by the Communication of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, received by their Mothers, from whom they derive their Nourishment, during the time they are in their Wombs; for as an Infant in the Womb rejoyceth

joyceth or is ſorrowful, according as its Mother is affected, ſo it is nouriſhed likewiſe by its Mother's nutriment; for as our Lord ſaith in his Holy Goſpel, *Whoſoever ſhall eat my body and drink my blood, ſhall never taſt death*; and again, *He that eateth my body, and drinketh my blood, ſhall be with me*: *Paul* likewiſe ſpeaketh to the ſame purpoſe, when he ſaith, *the unbelieving husband is juſtified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving wife by the believing husband, otherwiſe your children would be unclean, whereas now they are holy.* Now if the Children of an Uubelieving Mother are notwithſtanding that, Sanctified by the Faith of their Father, how much more holy muſt they be, whoſe Father and Mother are both Believers? For which reaſon it is much more pious to call ſuch Infants before they are Baptized, *Half-Chriſtians*, than *Pagans*.

The Apoſtles in their *Book of Synods* do likewiſe affirm, That all who had Faith, though they were not Baptized, may be called *Half-Chriſtians*; in which Books it is ſaid, that if a *Jew*, or *Gentile*, or *Mahometan*, do embrace the Faith, he ſhall not be received preſently, but muſt firſt come to the door of the Church, there to hear Sermons, and the words of our Saviour Chriſt, and that being diſpoſed to Believe, he may underſtand what *Chriſt's yoke is*, after which he may be called an *Half-Chriſtian*, even before he is admitted to Baptiſm; which is alſo according to the Goſpel, which ſaith, *He that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved*; *but he that believeth not, ſhall be condemned.*

It is alſo the cuſtom among us, for Women when they are with Child to Confeſs their Sins and receive the Lord's Body before they are Delivered; and they who neglect to do this, are looked upon as Wicked and Impious Chriſtians, as are alſo their Husbands for not having obliged them to it.

Confirmation and Extream Unction no Sacraments.

Confirmation and *Extream Unction* are not *reckoned Sacraments among* us, neither are they in uſe in our Church, as I ſee they are in the *Roman*.

We do furthermore reckon it contrary to the Law of *Moſes*, and the Inſtitutions of the Apoſtles, to eat *unclean Meats*, from all which we do abſtain merely in Obedience to the Law and the Scriptures; which with us conſiſts of *Eighty one Books*; that is to ſay, the Old Teſtament conſiſts of Forty one Books, and the New of Thirty five; which Canon, or Number of Books, we have expreſly delivered to us by the Apoſtles themſelves, and to which it is not lawful for us to Add or Diminiſh any thing, no not though an Angel from Heaven ſhould perſuade us to it; and we do look upon him as Accurſed, that ſhall offer to do any ſuch thing; ſo that neither our *Patriarch* nor our Biſhop do reckon that they can either by themſelves, or in a *Council*, make any *Laws*, *That People are under an Obligation of a Mortal Sin to obſerve*.

The Scripture the perfect Rule of Faith.

In the Books of *our Synods* it is ordained by the Holy Apoſtles, That we muſt confeſs our ſelves before we can receive Penance from a Confeſſor, according to the greatneſs

of

of our Sin: They teach us likewiſe how we ought to Pray, and Faſt, and how to exerciſe Charity. Confeſſion is much in uſe among us; for we have no ſooner committed a Sin, than we run and throw our ſelves at the feet of a Confeſſor; this is the conſtant practice of all Men and Women of whatſoever Quality or Condition; and whenever we Confeſs, we do receive the Body of our Lord under both Species, and in Wheaten and Unleavened Bread; ſo that if we Confeſs our ſelves daily, we do daily receive the Sacrament, as well Layicks as Eccleſiaſticks. The Sacrament of the Euchariſt *is not kept in our Churches*, as it is here in *Europe*; neither is it at any time Adminiſtred to the Sick, until after they are recovered. All among us Layicks, as well as Clerks, do receive the Sacrament at leaſt Three times a Week; which is never received any where but in the Church, no not by the Patriarch, or *Precious John* himſelf.

They all receive the Sacrament in both Elements.

It is not kept in their Churches.

It is never received but in the Church.

We do always make uſe of the ſame Confeſſor, and do never go to any other, but when our own is abſent, to whom when he returns we are bound to repair. The Confeſſors do in the Name of the Church, abſolve from all Sins, there being no caſes, no not the moſt heinous, reſerved to the Biſhop or Patriarch; Presbyters are not allowed to Confeſs themſelves to thoſe that they Confeſs; and among us all Presbyters and Monks, and all Officers of the Church, do live by their own Labour; for the Church hath no Tythes, it has Lands which are Cultivated by the Prieſts and

Monks, either in Perſon, or by their ſervants; and as for Alms, they receive none but thoſe that are offered in the Church for the Burial of the dead, and other Holy Offices; it not being lawful for any of them to beg about the ſtreets, or to extort Alms from the common people.

The Sacrament is never adminiſtred above once a day in a Church. It is not ſhewed to the People. No Maſſes are ſaid for the Dead.

Furthermore, in our Churches there is never *but one Maſs a day*, which we do reckon to be a Sacrifice; neither is it lawful for us, according to ancient Cuſtom, to Celebrate more; for which Maſs we never receive any Money; the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt is not ſhewed to the People among us*, as I obſerve it is here; and all Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons, and all People whatſoever that are preſent at the Celebration, *are obliged to Communicate*. We ſay no Maſſes for the *remiſſion of Souls*, but our Dead are Buried in a Conſecrated Place with Prayers and Croſſes, over whom, among other things, we recite the beginning of St. *John*'s Goſpel, and do offer Alms for them the day after they are Buried, and at certain other times, when we have Funeral Feaſts.

This is what I have to ſay of our Faith and Religion.

But whereas ſince my coming to *Portugal*, I have had ſeveral Debates with ſome Doctors, namely with *Didacus Ortis* Biſhop of the Iſland of St. *Thomas*, and Dean of the King's Chappel, and *Pedro Magalho*, concerning the *diſtinction of Meats*, it will not be improper for me to ſay ſomething of it in this place.

It

It is to be obſerved, that it is in obedience to the Old Teſtament that we obſerve a diſtinction of meats, which diſtinction is ordained by the *Word of God*, who was afterwards born of the Virgin *Mary*, and walked and converſed with his Apoſtles; which Living Word of God had always an entire and irrevocable Speech or Word, and who did no where in his Goſpel ſay, that ſuch things might be eat, as were before prohibited as unclean. For as to thoſe words in the Goſpel, *That whatſoever entreth into the mouth doth not defile the man, but that which cometh forth of the mouth*; Chriſt's intent therein, was not to diſſolve the Law he had formerly enacted, but only to confute the Superſtition of the *Jews*, who blamed the Apoſtles for having eat Bread with unwaſhen hands; neither did the Apoſtles, while they converſed with Chriſt, make uſe of unclean Meats, or ſo much as taſte any thing that was prohibited by the Law, which was what none of them offered to tranſgreſs, no not after the time of our Lord's Paſſion, when they began to preach the Goſpel; there being nothing in their Writings from whence it can be gathered, that they did ever kill or eat any thing that is unclean. It is true, *Paul* ſaith, *Eat all that is ſold in the ſhambles, asking nothing for conſcience ſake*; and again, *If any that are infidels invite you to a feaſt, and you are diſpoſed to go, eat whatſoever is ſet before you, asking no queſtions for conſcience ſake:* And again, *If any one ſhall ſay, This is offered to idols, do not eat for his ſake that told you ſo, and for conſcience ſake*, &c. All which *Paul* ſpoke in compliance with thoſe

A long Juſtification of their abſtaining from Meats that are made unclean by the Law.

who are weak in the Faith, betwixt whom and the *Jews* there were frequent Debates; and in order to the putting a ſtop to thoſe Diſputes, the Apoſtle complied much with the weaker Chriſtians, which he did not do that he would have the Law broke, but that by gratifying ſuch People in the relaxation of Rites, he might allure them to the Faith.

The ſame Apoſtle ſaith likewiſe, *Let not him that eateth, deſpiſe him that eateth not; for he that eateth, eateth unto the Lord; and he that eateth not, eateth not unto the Lord.* It is therefore an unworthy thing to reprove Chriſtians, who are Strangers, with ſo much bitterneſs, as I have been reproved here, concerning this very matter, and other little things, which do no ways belong to Faith: It would certainly be much wiſer for Chriſtians, whether *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Ethiopians*, or of any of the Seven Chriſtian Churches, to bear with one another in Charity, and in the Bowels of Chriſt, in all ſuch matters, and to ſuffer one another to live and converſe with their Chriſtian Brethren, being all Sons of Baptiſm, and unanimous in the true Faith; neither is there any cauſe why they ſhould debate ſo ſharply about Ceremonies; or why every one ſhould not be ſuffered to obſerve his own, and that without hating and perſecuting others for theirs; neither ought any one in a ſtrange Countrey to be debarred the Communion of the Church for obſerving his own Church-Ceremonies.

As to that we meet with in the *Acts*, of *Peter*'s ſeeing a Cloth let down from Heaven by the corners, wherein were all Four-footed Beaſts,

Beasts, and all creeping Creatures, and Birds of the Air; and of his having heard a Voice that commanded him, *to rise, and kill, and eat*; to which *Peter* replied, *Far be it from me, Lord, for I have never eat any thing that is common and unclean*; to whom the Voice answered, *What God has purified, that do not thou call unclean*; which having been done three several times, the Vessel was then immediately taken up into Heaven; whereupon the Spirit sent him straightways to *Cesarea* to *Cornelius*, a holy Man, fearing God, to whom when *Peter* spake, the Holy Spirit descended on all who heard the Word of God: After which *Peter* baptized *Cornelius* and his whole Family: Now when the Apostles and Brethren, who were in *Judea*, came to hear of what *Peter* had done, they were angry, and asked him, How he came to go to men who *were uncircumcised, and to eat with them*? but after *Peter* had declared to them the whole Vision, they were satisfied, and returned thanks to God, saying, He *hath given repentance unto life to the Gentiles*; and they remembred the word of the Lord, which he spoke when he ascended into Heaven, *Go over all nations, and preach the Gospel to all creatures, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*; *and he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved*; *and he that believeth not, shall be condemned*: Then the Apostles begun to preach the Gospel over the whole World to every Creature, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, insomuch that their sound went thorough the whole Earth: Now this Vision, wherein things clean and unclean

unclean appeared, we of *Ethiopia* interpret thus: The *clean living Creatures* were the *People* of *Israel*, *the unclean were the* Gentiles; who were therefore said to be unclean, because *they worshipped Idols*, and did the Works of the Devil, which are unclean. So that the Voice saying, *Peter* kill, was the same as if it had said, *Teach and preach the Faith, and the Law of Christ*, both to the People of *Israel*, and the *Gentiles*; besides, it is most certain, that we read no where in the Scriptures of *Peter*, or of any other of the Apostles, killing or eating any thing that was unclean after this Vision: We are to observe likewise, That when the Scriptures speak *of Bread*, it is not to be understood of a Corporal Food, but of the Doctrine of the Gospel.

It is therefore adviseable for all Doctors and Preachers to teach high and sublime things of this Linen Cloth which was shewed to *Peter*, and not low things, which do no way appertain to Salvation; and least of all to draw Arguments from thence, to prove it to be lawful for us to eat things that are unclean, seeing no such matter can be gathered from the Scripture; but that is not all, for the Apostles themselves, in their *Book of Synods*, have forbid us to eat any thing that *is strangled or tore, or half eaten by Beast, or Blood*, because the Lord loveth cleanness and sobriety, and hateth gluttony and pollution; and loveth those much who abstain from Flesh, and those more who fast with Bread, and Water, and Herbs, as *John the Baptist* did, who eat nothing else: As also *Paul* the Hermite, who

lived

lived in the Desert, and fasted 80 years; as St. *Anthony*, and St. *Macarius*, and a great number of their Spiritual Sons, who never so much as tasted Flesh.

Wherefore, Brethren, we ought not to contemn and persecute our Neighbours; for St. *James* saith, *He that speaketh evil of his brother, or judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law: Paul* teacheth likewise, *That it is much better for people to rest satisfied with their own traditions, than to contend with their Christian brethren about the law; and that in such matters they ought not to be wiser than is necessary, but to be wise to sobriety, according as God hath dealt to every man a measure of faith.* Wherefore it is a very undecent thing to contend with our brethren about the law and distinction of meats, since meat cannot commend us to God; and especially since St. *Paul* hath said, *Whether ye eat plentifully, or do not eat, ye are never the worse:* Let us therefore look after higher things, and the food that is heavenly, and forbear such low and empty disputations. What I have writ concerning Traditions, I have not writ out of a spirit of contention, but to defend my Countreymen against the violent reproofs of those who paid so little respect to the most Potent *Precious John* and his Subjects, as to load them with Reproaches, calling us *Jews* and *Mahometans*, because *we circumcise*, and *sanctify the Sabbath*, after the manner of the *Jews*, and do continue our Fasts till Sunset, as the *Mahometans* do: They do likewise object to us with great bitterness, That our Priests do marry, after the manner of the Lay-men; and

A charitable Admonition.

and that miſtruſting our *firſt Baptiſm*, we are baptized yearly; and that we circumciſe not only Males but Females alſo, which the *Jews* never did; laſtly, that we obſerve a diſtinction of Meats with great ſtrictneſs; and that we call Children Half-Chriſtians before they are baptized: To which things I was obliged to return an Anſwer, to vindicate our people from the Calumnies that are caſt upon them, and to render the *Roman* Doctors more affable to us, who, how piouſly I will not ſay, have ever ſince I came into *Portugal*, which is now Seven Years, deny'd me the Sacrament; ſo that, I cannot ſpeak it but with extreme Grief and Tears, I am treated by my Chriſtian Brethren as a Heathen and an *Anathema:* He that enliveneth all things, to whom I commit it, does take notice of theſe matters.

I was not ſent by the moſt Potent Lord the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, to the *Roman Pontiff*, and to the moſt Serene *John* King of *Portugal*, to brangle and diſpute, but to contract a Friendſhip and Alliance betwixt them; not to increaſe or diminiſh Human Traditions, but to enquire diligently into the Errors of *Arius* the Prince of Hereticks; and to learn whether the *European* Chriſtians do agree with us in confuting his Opinions; upon account of whoſe Errors a Council of Three hundred and eighteen Biſhops were aſſembled at *Nice* under Pope *Julius*: And that I might learn likewiſe whether what the Apoſtles have commanded in their *Book of Synods*, was obſerved among the *European* Chriſtians; to wit, That Two Councils be celebrated every Year in

in the Christian Church, to treat concerning Matters of Faith; the first whereof they ordered to be assembled at the Feast of *Pentecost*, and the second on the 10*th*. of *October*: And to learn also how it stood betwixt us as to the Errors of *Macedonius*; upon whose account a Council of an Hundred and Fifty Bishops was assembled at *Constantinople* under Pope *Damasus*: And also the Errors of *Nestorius*, against whom a Council of Two hundred were assembled at *Ephesus* under Pope *Celestine*: And lastly, That I might be informed of the Fourth and Great Council of *Chalcedon*, assembled upon the account of the Errors of *Eutyches*, at the time when St. *Leo* was Bishop of *Rome*; from which Council, after having had hot Disputes, the Bishops returned, without having concluded any thing for the Peace of the Church; both Parties maintaining their own Opinions.

The Books of which Synods, and of divers others that were afterwards celebrated, my Lord the Emperor of *Ethiopia* hath by him, who is very much troubled, as are also all his Christian Subjects, at the Tares which the Devil, the Enemy of Truth, has sown among Christians.

Our people from the beginning have acknowledged the *Roman Pontiff* to be the first Bishop, to whom, as the Vicar of Christ, we do at this time submit our selves; and in whose Court we would be frequently, were it not for the great distance we are at from it, and our being denied a free passage through the *Mahometan* Kingdoms which lye betwixt us;

us; insomuch that many times after having exposed our Persons to great dangers, we are not able to get thither.

The most Prudent and Invincible King *Emanuel*, of happy memory, was the first that by Divine Direction opened a Passage by his Navigation to the *East-Indies*; which for the future gives us great hopes of a commodious Correspondence: *Emanuel* made himself Master of the *Red Sea* with his Fleets; not being discouraged from doing it by the greatness of the Charge, that so he might augment the Faith of Christ, and open a Passage for us to correspond with him, and to make use of each other's assistance; by which means we do hope, with our united Forces, to drive all the *Mahometans* and *Heathens* not only from the Coasts of the *Red-Sea*, but also out of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*. And as we do not in the least doubt but that we shall be able to do this, so we do wish that all *European* Christians were in Peace with one another, that so they might join together, in order to expel the Enemies of the Cross of Christ out of the *Mediterranean* Countries, and *Pontus*, and other Provinces; that according to the Word of Christ, there may be but *one Law, one Shepherd, and one Pastor, upon the face of the whole earth*; of which we have two Prophecies, one in the Prophecies of St. *Ficator*, and another of St. *Synoda* a Hermit, born among the Rocks in the extremities of *Egypt*; both which Prophecies do agree in this matter: For which reason we have reckoned the Events of those Prophecies to be drawing near, ever since my most Potent

The design of this *Habessin* Embassy.

Potent Lord had Ambaſſadors ſent to him by the Serene and Wiſe King *Emanuel*. And it is certain, that ever ſince that time my Prince hath thought of nothing ſo much, as of deſtroying the *Mahometans* from off the Face of the earth; for the advancing of which deſign, and of ſome other matters which I have laid before the moſt Serene King *John*, the Son of *Emanuel*, I was ſent hither by my moſt Potent Lord, and not to engage in frivolous and empty Diſputations. I do wiſh the great God may bring the Intentions and Endeavours of my Prince, which I was ſent hither to promote, to an happy Iſſue, ſo as to be for his Glory. *Amen.*

Having given ſome Account of theſe things, I will now with great Brevity ſay ſomething of the ſtate of our Patriarch, and Empire.

When our Patriarch dies, *Precious John* our Emperor immediately diſpatcheth a Meſſenger to the Monks that live at *Jeruſalem*; who having received notice, and the Preſents that are ſent to the *Holy Sepulchre* by the Emperor, do ſtraightways chuſe a Patriarch by a Majority of Voices, who muſt always be an *Alexandrian* Monk, of an unblameable life.

A falſe account of the Election of the *Abuna*.

When they have choſen a Patriarch, they ſeal up their Votes, and tranſmit them by the Emperor's Meſſenger, to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, reſiding at *Grand Cairo*, who immediately conſecrates the Monk that is choſen to that great Dignity, and ſends him with the Meſſenger into *Ethiopia*. The Perſon elected, according

according to ancient cuſtom, muſt be a Monk of the Order of St. *Anthony* the Hermit; and who when he arrives in *Ethiopia*, is there received with great Joy and Honour. This Affair is not ſometimes finiſhed under a Year or two; during which Vacancy, all the Rents of the Patriarch are paid to *Precious John*. The chief buſineſs of the Patriarch *is to confer Holy Orders*, which none beſides him can either give or take away. He collates to no Biſhopricks, nor any other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; which are all in the Gift of *Precious John*, who beſtows them as he thinks good. When the Patriarch, whoſe Revenues are very great, dieth, the Emperor is his ſole Heir. It is furthermore the buſineſs of the Patriarch to excommunicate all ſuch as are obſtinate; to which Cenſures there is ſo great a Reſpect paid, that all who ſlight them are condemned for their whole life to a ſtrict and perpetual Faſt. He *grants no Indulgences*, neither are the Sacraments of the Church denied to any Sinners, but Murtherers.

The Patriarch in our Tongue is called *Abuna*; only he who at preſent is in poſſeſſion of that Dignity, is called by his Baptiſmal Name, which is *Mark*; he is an Hundred Years of Age and upward.

With us the Year begins on the Firſt day of *September*, which falls always on the Vigil of *John the Baptiſt*; the other Holidays, as the *Nativity*, *Eaſter*, &c. are obſerved at the ſame time as they are in the *Roman* Church.

The

The Gospel and Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ was first preached among us by *Philip* the Apostle. If you would know the name of our Emperor, it is always Precious *John*, and not Presbyter *John*, as it is here falsly reported to be in our Language: It is *John Belul*, and in the *Chalde*, *John Encoo*, or Precious or High *John*: Neither is he ever called, as *Matthew* falsly reported, Emperor of the *Habassins*, but of the *Ethiopians*; for he being an *Armenian* did not thoroughly understand our Affairs, and least of all those relating to our Faith; which made him report several things to the wise King *Emanuel* of happy Memory, that were false; which was not done by him with an intention to deceive; for he was an honest Man, but because he was not well Instructed in the Matters of our Religion.

The Empire does not of right descend to the Eldest Son, but to him on whom the Emperor is pleased to bestow it. So the present Emperor was the third Brother, and got the Crown by a Pious piece of Reverence: For the last Emperor having when he was upon his Death-Bed commanded all his Sons to sit down by him on Royal Thrones, they all did so, except my Master, who said, *Far be it from me to sit in the Chair of my Lord*; for which act of Piety, his Father bestowed the Empire upon him. His Name is *David*, and his Dominions of Christians and Heathens are very large, in which there are divers Kings, Princes, Earls, Barons and Nobles, who are all extreamly submissive to his commands. He

hath no other than Foreign Coin within his Territories, Gold and Silver being paid, and received among us by Weight: We have a great many Cities and Towns, tho not built as they are here in *Portugal*. Precious *John* keeps his Court perpetually in the Camp, which he does on purpose to accustom the Nobility to the Hardships and Exercises of War: Neither is it to be omitted, that we are Besieged on all Sides, by the Enemies of our Faith, with whom we have frequent Battels, but are always Victorious; which Victories we Attribute to the Divine Assistance.

A Written Law is not in use among us, neither are the Complaints of *Litigants* Transacted by Papers, but by word of Mouth; which makes, that Law-Suits are not Protracted by the Avarice of the Judges and Advocates to any great length.

I am to tell you likewise, that *Matthew* was not sent by our Emperor *David*, to the Invincible and Powerful King *Emanuel* of happy Memory, but by Queen *Helena*, who was Dowager to the Emperor; *The Hand* of *Mary*, who was Grandfather to *David*, and who, *David* being under Age, at that time was Regent of *Ethiopia*: She was undoubtedly a most Wise and Religious Princess, and was Mistress of so much Learning, that she Composed two Books in the *Chaldee* Tongue: The Title of the first was *Euzara Clebaa*, that is to say, *Praise the Lord with Organs*; in which she discoursed Learnedly concerning the Trinity, and the Virginity of the Blessed Virgin: The Second is called *Chedale Cnay*, that is, the Beam of the Sun,

Sun, in which she has divers accurate Discourses concerning the Law of God.

All these things relating to the Faith, Religion, and State of our Countrey, I *Zaga Zabo, that is, the Grace of the Father*; a Bishop Presbyter, and *Bagama Raz*, that is to say, *a Soldier and Viceroy of the Province of* Bagana, could not deny to Thee *Damianus* my dearest Son in Christ, nor indeed to any one that should have desired it of me: And that for two Reasons.

1. Because I was commanded by the Most Potent Lord, Precious *John*, Emperor of *Ethiopia*, not to conceal any thing relating to our Faith and Countrey, from such as should desire to have an account thereof, but to Communicate the whole truth of all such matters to them, both by Writing and word of Mouth.

2. Because I judged it convenient to acquaint this part of the World with our Manners, Rites and Institutions; and that the rather because I had neither said, nor writ any thing thereof before; not that I grudged my labour, but because no Christian Soul since I came into *Portugal*, had ever desired me to do it, which is a thing I cannot wonder at enough.

I do therefore, knowing you to be extreamly curious to be acquainted with our Affairs, beseech you by the Wounds and Cross of Christ, to Translate this Confession of Faith and Religion into the *Latin* Tongue, that so the Integrity of our Manners and Rites may be

known to all *European* Christians; and if you should at any time happen to go to *Rome*, I must intreat you to Salute the Pope, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops and all the other Worshippers of Christ in my Name with the Kiss of Peace: And to desire the Pope to send *Francis Alvarez* back to me with an Answer to the Letters of my Most Potent Lord the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, that so I may at last return to my own Country, and once more see my own House, having been detained here too long already; and that before I am arrested by Death, which by reason of my great Age I must be in a short time, I may carry back an Answer to my Master; and having finished my Embassy, may Dedicate the remainder of my Days to God, and Divine Matters: And in case this Treatise should not be so accurately Composed as it ought to be, I must beseech you to Correct it, and Adapt it to the *Latin* Phrase, but so as not to alter the sense.

Finally I must intreat you, in the Translation thereof to consult the Old and New Testaments, that you may the better understand out of what Books I have taken my Quotations, and may be able to translate them the more faithfully. And in case matters should not be so curiously handled therein, as to satisfy Critical Readers, the fault thereof must be imputed to my want of *Chaldee* Books, of which I have not one by me; those I brought from home with me, having been unhappily lost in the Voyage. So that what I set down, was what occurred to my Memory; which I have done with great Fidelity. *Farewell my most beloved*

loved Son in Christ. Lisbon, *the* 24*th. of* April, *in the year of our salvation* 1534.

After having writ this, I called to mind the passage wherein I had affirmed, That Christ had descended into the lower parts, for the sake of *Adam*'s Soul, and his own which he receiv'd from his Mother, the holy Virgin *Mary:* Of the truth whereof we have a certain Testimony in the *Books of Government,* as we call them; which Books were delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ to his Apostles, and they are likewise the *Mystery of Doctrines*; insomuch that their Testimony is admitted as infallible among us. The *Portuguese* Divines are of Opinions that are contrary to those Writings; but that does not hinder that from being true which these Books affirm, *viz.* That the Souls of men are derived from *Adam*; that is to say, As our Flesh is derived from the Flesh of *Adam*, so our Soul, as a Burning Light, is derived likewise from the Soul of *Adam*, which makes us to be all of the Seed of *Adam*, both as to Body and Soul.

A Censure on *Zaga Zaba*'s Confession of Faith.

In this large Confession of Faith, albeit *Zaga Zaba* discovers himself to have been piqued, by the *Portuguese* Clergy having teaz'd him as they did about his Religion, and to have disputed himself into some warmth upon several Ceremonial Points; yet as to the Doctrines wherein the *Roman* Church was at that time contradicted by the Reformers, namely, the Three great ones, of the *Pope's*

Supremacy, *Tranſubſtantiation*, and *Purgatory*, it is viſible that to ingratiate himſelf with the Pope and King of *Portugal*, and to make his Court the better, he did both ſtretch his Conſcience, and ſacrifice his Reſentments to the Publick Character he bore: Thoſe Doctrines having never been at any time the Doctrines of the *Habaſſin* Church: Which Charge of Infidelity is juſtified both by the *Jeſuits*, and his Countreyman *Gregory*, who never ſpoke of him but with deteſtation, calling him commonly a *Beaſt of the Field*. And as to his ſaying, that his Emperor's Name was *Precious*, and not *Preſtor John*, it was a plain Trick in him, deſigning by ſuch a ſlight Correction of that word, to eſtabliſh the opinion of his Maſter being the Prince was meant by *Preſtor John* in *Europe*: For whereas the preſent Emperor's Name was *David*, ſo I do not find that there was one of the Name of *John* in the whole Line of thoſe Princes. Neither is there any colour for its having been a conſtant Title among them.

The Emperor *David* brings a terrible ſtorm upon himſelf by ſeeking to enter into an alliance with the *Portugueſes*.

But while *David*'s Ambaſſador was thus detained at *Lisbon*, diſputing, *Whether it was lawful to eat Black-Puddings*, he himſelf continued involved in a rude and cruel War, brought upon him by his new Correſpondence with the *Portugueſes*, whoſe Name at that time was become very formidable all over the *Eaſt*.

For whereas the *Habaſſin*, as is plain from his own Letters, did expect nothing leſs from his new Alliance, than the utter extirpation of all his Infidel Neighbours, *Heathens* and *Mahometans*; ſo natural it is for people to overvalue any

any new and untry'd advantage, and to expect much more from it than it is capable of yielding; so his Infidel Neighbours, and particularly the *Mahometans*, apprehending that an Alliance betwixt the *Habassins* and *Portugueses*, might prove a thing of dangerous consequence to them, did all conspire to interrupt it, by disabling the *Habassin*, before any *Portuguese* Troops could come to his assistance.

Granhe a *Mahometan* Prince, obtains several Victories over *David*.

In prosecution of which Design, one *Ahamed*, whose Nick-name was *Granhe*, or *Left Hand*, a *Mahometan* Prince, having joined his Forces with those of the King of *Adel*, upon whom the *Habassin* had begun a War, he marched against *David*, resolving to give him Battel before he was reinforced by the *Portuguese* Troops; which though they did not come in several years after, were expected by every *Moncon*. *David* being flushed by some former Victories, and having an Army superior in number to that of *Granhe* and *Adel* joined together, was so far from declining to fight, that he marched directly towards the Infidels: The two Armies no sooner met than they came to blows, and after a long and bloody Fight the *Habassins* were totally routed, most of them being either killed or taken Prisoners.

He drives him at last in a manner out of his Empire.

David having narrowly escaped, retired to the Mountains, where he sculked about for Two Years with a small flying Body: During which time *Granhe* made himself Master of all the best Provinces of that Empire, burning down the Churches, or prophaning them by converting them into *Mosques* whereever he came.

David sends one *John Bermudes*, a *Portugueſe*, after having given him a Title to ſucceed the *Abuna* when he died, to *Rome* and *Lisbon*, to ſolicite and haſten ſome Succors.

David ſeeing his Empire in imminent danger of being totally conquered, diſpatched one *John Bermudes*, a *Portugueſe*, who had been in *Ethiopia* ever ſince the Empreſs *Helena* her Government, to *Rome* and *Lisbon*, to acquaint thoſe Courts with the Ill Circumſtances he was in, and to conjure them, as they had any regard to the Preſervation of a great Chriſtian Empire, to ſend him ſome conſiderable Succors with all poſſible Expedition; for otherwiſe the *Habaſſin* Church and Empire would be ſpeedily loſt beyond recovery. And in order to make his Court the better with the Pope and that King, he obliged the *Abuna Mark* not only to *conſecrate* the ſaid *Bermudes*, who till then was a *pure Layman*, a *Biſhop*, but to declare him alſo his *Succeſſor* in the See of *Ethiopia*.

John Bermudes, before he went, was conſecrated a Biſhop by the *Abuna*. His *Habaſſin* Ordination by a ſingle *Eutychian* Biſhop was allowed to be valid by the Pope, when he came to *Rome*.

Bermudes being thus conſecrated a Biſhop, and declared Succeſſor to the *Abuna*, began his Journey for *Rome*, over land; and being arrived at that Court in the year 1538, was graciouſly received by *Paul* the III*d.* who did not only allow his *Habaſſin* Orders to be valid, but did furthermore confirm his Nomination to the Patriarchate of *Ethiopia*.

So that whatever it is that hinders the Popes from allowing the *Orders of the Church of* England *to be good*, unleſs their Infallibilities will contradict one another, it cannot be what they pretend, to wit, either *the Hereſy of her firſt reformed Biſhops*, or their not having been *three to conſecrate*; ſince in this caſe, the *Conſecration of a Biſhop by a ſingle Heretical Biſhop was allowed by the Pope* to be valid

valid. But *England* is *England*, and *Ethiopia* is *Ethiopia*, and Policy may not allow that they ſhould be both treated alike.

Bermudes having diſpatched his own Buſineſs at *Rome*, which was all that *was to be done at that Court, which ſeldom or never takes the expence of any Miſſions, or holy Wars upon it ſelf, further than its Bleſſings will go.* He began his Journey for *Lisbon*, and being arrived there, he was kindly entertained by the King, to whom the Pope had left the honour of the whole expence and trouble of ſuccoring *Ethiopia*, and was acknowledged by him, and the whole Court, as *Habaſſin* Patriarch in Poſſeſſion, and not in Reverſion; and as ſuch, though I cannot learn for what Miſdemeanor, he threw the Ambaſſador *Zaga Zaba* into Priſon, loading him with Chains, in which he intended to carry him home, had not the King interceeded for his Liberty.

Bermudes having got his title to the *Abunaſhip* of *Ethiopia*, confirmed by the Pope, goes from *Rome* to *Lisbon*.

Where he acted as the *Habaſſin Abuna*.

The Patriarch *Bermudes* having, as it is ſaid, obtained an Order from the King to the Viceroy of the *Indies*, for four or five hundred *Portugueſe* Musketeers, embarked upon the Fleet that was bound for *Goa*, where he arrived in the Year 1539. but however the King's Orders were, if there were ever any, it was two years after his landing at *Goa*, before any *Portugueſe* Succors ſet their Feet in *Ethiopia*.

He returns to *Goa*, having, as it is ſaid, obtained an Order for 400 Soldiers.

During this time, *David* by ſome means or other, is ſaid to have got ſo conſiderable an Army together, as to have ventured with it out of his Faſtneſſes, and to have beat *Granhe* in a pitched Battel; but however this were, in the progreſs of the War, which laſted from the

the Year 1528. until the Year 1540. in which *David* died, it is certain he was driven by *Granhe* out of the greateſt part of his Empire, he having no other Countries left him at his death, but ſuch as defended themſelves purely by their barrenneſs and inacceſſibleneſs, ſuch Countries being the common Receptacles of all conquered Nations, that have the conveniency of them.

David dies, and is ſucceeded by his Son *Claudius*.

David died in the 47*th* year of his Age, and the 36*th* of his Reign, leaving his Son *Claudius* a broken and diſtreſſed Empire, and all Princes, *an Example of the folly of depending upon remote Foreign Succors*, and of being encouraged by the hopes of them, to provoke their Neighbours, or to make them jealous of them.

Claudius has ſome ſucceſs in the beginning, but was quickly after obliged to retire to the Mountains.

Upon *Claudius*'s coming to the Crown, the Empire, as if its Ill Genius had departed with *David*, began to revive a little; For he having got a ſmall Army together, marched from among the Mountains, and having ſurprized a *Mahometan* Prince, whoſe name was *Amirizmon*, and defeated him in a pitced Battel, he recovered the Province that Infidel had in the late Scramble made himſelf maſter of.

But the Joy of this Succeſs laſted not long, for *Amirizmon* having recruited his Army with *Mahometan* Auxiliaries, obliged *Claudius* to come to a Battel, wherein he beat him to that degree, that he forced him to retire to a remote mountainous Countrey called *Zaa*, only with 70 men in his Company; *Cabelo Oanguel*

Oanguel the Queen-Mother, taking ſanctuary at the ſame time in an impregnable Mountain that was at no great diſtance from the *Red-Sea*; where ſhe had not been long, before ſhe received advice of a great *Portugueſe* Fleet being come into thoſe Seas, whereupon ſhe diſpatched two Envoys, who were *Bahurnagays*, and the *Grandee Robel*, to the *Portugueſe* Admiral to beſeech him, if they met with him, to ſpare her Son ſome Troops, and a Train of Artillery, to drive the *Mahometans* out of *Ethiopia*, of which they were in a manner become abſolute Maſters.

The Queen Mother leaving of a *Portugueſe* Fleet, being in the *Red-Sea*, ſends two Envoys to the Admiral to implore ſome Succors.

The Envoys not knowing any place where they were ſo like to meet with the *Portugueſe* Fleet, as at *Matzua*, repaired thither to wait for it; and the Fleet not having been able to execute the Deſign that had brought it into thoſe Seas, which was to have burnt the *Turkiſh* Gallies in the Port of *Sues*, happened, for it does not appear that it was by Order, to touch as they were returning home, at *Matzua*, to the great joy of the *Habaſſin* Envoys; Who having waited on the Admiral, and delivered the Empreſs's Letters to him, told him plainly, That if he did not ſpare them a good Body of Troops, and a Train of Artillery, *Ethiopia* was for ever a loſt Empire; adding, That the Fortune of a great Chriſtian Empire was now entirely in his hands; and as it would be for his immortal honour to ſave it, and the rather, becauſe it was nothing ſo much as its new Correſpondence with the *Portugueſe* that had brought this dreadful Storm upon it from all Quarters, ſo they were certain his Maſter would

The Envoys meet the *Portugueſe* Fleet at *Matzua*.

would not thank him, for ſuffering it to be utterly loſt, when it was ſo much in his power for to have ſaved it.

Upon theſe Paſſionate Remonſtrances of the Empreſs, and her Envoys, the Admiral called a general Council of War, to conſult what was beſt to be done in ſo important an Affair; and after ſome Debates, it was unanimouſly agreed, That ſomething muſt be done to preſerve a ſinking Empire; and the rather, becauſe it was viſible its new Alliance with *Portugal* had brought this great ſtorm upon it.

They obtain 400 Soldiers of the *Portugueſe* Admiral, which were commanded by *Don Chriſtopher da Gama*.

The Council of War having come to this Reſolution, ſeveral Perſons of Quality offered themſelves voluntarily to command the Troops that were to be employed in the Expedition; as, *to give the* Portugueſe *Gentlemen their due, they are ſeldom or never backward to go whither their honour calls them.* The Perſon that was named to command in Chief, was *Don Chriſtopher da Gama*, Brother to the then Viceroy *Don Stephen da Gama*, and Son to the Famous *Don Vaſco da Gama*, the Diſcoverer of the *Indies*.

The *Portugueſes* ſay, The Council of War agreed to ſend a 1000 Men under *Gama*, but the Envoy would not hear of ſo great a number, *Bahurnagays* having generouſly declared, That he would never be guilty of carrying Brave Men into a Countrey to ſtarve them; that for 400, ſufficient Proviſions would be found, but not for more; but whether this was ſo or not, the *Portugueſe* Hiſtorians have made the 400 that were ſent, to have done

done the work of 4000 Stout men; *the common fault both of the* Portugueſe *and* Spaniſh *Writers; who by their Romantick way of magnifying the Feats of their Countreymen, do render the truth of the whole of them ſuſpicious.*

Gama enters into *Ethiopia* with his Troops, and the *Roman* Patriarch.

On the 9th. of *July* 1541. *Gama* with his 400 Select Men, and a ſmall Train of Artillery, were put aſhore at *Arkiko*, having the *Habaſſin* Envoys, and the Patriarch *Bermudes* in their Company; they had a tireſome March over Rocks and Mountains for the firſt ſix days, being many times forced for want of Mules and Horſes, to draw their Artillery by ſtrength of Arm; at which work *Gama* is ſaid to have been ſtill one of the foremoſt: After a continued fatigue of ſix days they arrived at *Deboroa*, a Province belonging to *Baburnagays*, where the Monks and Chriſtians, who were retired into the Mountains for fear of the *Mahometans*, having heard of their arrival, flocked in to them from all parts, Praiſing God, and giving *Gama* and his Men a thouſand bleſſings for having come to deliver them out of the grievous bondage they were brought under by the *Mahometans*: *Gama* ſeeing them all in tears, endeavoured to comfort them, by telling them, That as it was nothing but the ſtrong deſire he had to reſtore their Prince and them to their former free and happy ſtate, that had brought him into *Ethiopia*, ſo he did not doubt, but with God's Aſſiſtance, to do it both ſpeedily and effectually for them, and to make the *Infidels* repent of their having invaded

ded a Brother and Ally of the King of *Portugal*, and of the Ravage they had made in a Christian Empire. The People, being much comforted by these assurances, waited upon *Gama* to a Church that was not far off, where having all performed their Devotions, *Gama* with his men, repaired to the Tents that were provided for them by *Bahurnagays*, where they were entertained with all the dainties the Countrey did afford.

He sends an 100 of his men to fetch the Empress to his Camp.

The day following *Gama* divided his men into Six Companies, putting 50 in a Company, and ordered the other 100 to be a Guard to the Royal Standard, and to be immediately under his own Command; the Captains were *John O Affonso*, *Manuel da Curnha*, *Humphrey da Abreu*, and *Francis Velha*; *Curnha* and *Velha* were dispatched immediately with their Companies to wait upon the Empress with *Gama*'s Complement to her, and to guard her to the Camp: The Empress when she heard of their being at the foot of her Precipice, for such it was, rather than a Mountain, ordered the Baskets to be let down, and when she saw them, she weeped for joy, and thanked God, and the King of *Portugal* for so seasonable a succor; and having enquired after the state of *Gama*'s health, and some other particulars, she ordered them to be conducted to the Lodgings that were provided for them, where they were entertained as handsomely as the place and the Empress's Circumstances would afford. The next Morning the Empress, who was quite sick of her Confinement, was let down from the Rock,

and

and having mounted a Mule richly equipped, she marched with her *Portugueſe* Guard towards *Gama*, who when he had notice of her being near, rode out to meet her, having first ordered his men to stand to their Arms, and upon a signal given, to salute her with three Vollies: The Empress to do *Gama* the greater honour, Unvailed her head when he came up to her, receiving him with extraordinary respects. The Empress arrives at the Camp.

Gama after having done the Obeisances that were due to her Character, told her, That as he and all the Men she saw, were sent by the King of *Portugal* to her and her Son's Assistance, so they were all to a man resolved to sacrifice their Lives for the Faith of Christ, and in defence of that Christian Empire. The Empress thanked him very cordially, and told him God would certainly reward him for such a service, though her Son and she should happen never to be in a condition to do it, not but that she hoped, that his Valour and Conduct would raise them to a capacity of being bountiful to their Benefactors.

After the Compliments were over, the Empress with the Ladies that attended her, went to the Tent that was provided for them, being waited upon to it by *Gama*, and most of his Officers. On the second day after her arrival in the Camp, *Gama* drew all his Men up in a body before her Tent, and exercised them before her; she was extreamly pleased with their Persons and Discipline, and promised her self great things from so well Disciplined a body.

In

In a Council of War, at which the Empreſs and *Baburnagays* were preſent, it was agreed, That their Camp ſhould remain where it was till the end of *October*, and that in the mean time they ſhould ſend to the Emperor to acquaint him with the arrival of the *Portugueſe* Troops. The Emperor, ſo ſoon as he received advice thereof, writ immediately to *Gama*, deſiring him to March towards him with all the haſte he could make, to prevent the Enemies putting himſelf betwixt them to hinder their conjunction.

The Emperor being acquainted with the arrival of the *Portugueſes*, writes to *Gama* to come and joyn him.

But whatever was the cauſe of it, it was the 5th. of *December* before *Gama* decamped from *Debora*; when taking the Empreſs along with him, and being joyned by 2000 *Habaſſins*, he Marched toward the Emperor in as good order as the nature of the Countrey would permit him; the *Mahometans*, who were employed by *Granhe* to raiſe Money, flying before him as he Marched; and the *Habaſſins*, ſo ſoon as their *Lord Dans* were gone, running in to him from all parts for Protection, ſupplying him with all Neceſſaries. On the 1ſt. of *February* 1542. they came before a ſtrong Mountain which *Granhe* had got into his hands by Treachery, into which by reaſon of its Commanding all the Countrey about, he had put a Gariſon of 1500 men; this Mountain is not above Three days March in a right line from *Debora*; but what made them to be near Two Months in getting to it, was their having fetched a great Compaſs in order to the reducing of ſeveral of the beſt Provinces to the Emperor's Obedience, which

which they did only by Marching thorough them.

Gama finding all they had done, if they did not make themſelves Maſters of this Mountain, would ſignify nothing, did reſolve, whatever it coſt him, to attempt it; the Empreſs was much againſt his doing it, and gave this for her Reaſon, That ſhould the *Portugueſes* be baffled in that Attempt, as conſidering the Strength of the Place and the Gariſon, it was too likely they might, the *Mahometans* to whom at preſent their Name was become terrible, would recover their courage again: But *Gama* offered ſuch ſtrong reaſons for their not leaving ſuch a Gariſon behind them, that the Empreſs was overcome by them, and gave her conſent to its being Attaqued.

The Mountain was both High and Steep, and on the top of it was a Plain of near a League in compaſs, in which was water ſufficient for the Gariſon: It had Three Entries which were all ſtrongly fortified both by Art and Nature; The Chief of them was called *Amba Canet*, which is the Name of the Mountain it ſelf: The Second is called *Amba Xambut*: The Third *Amba Gadalet*. They had all of them Governors, with a Guard of Five Hundred Men well Armed, with Bows and Scimiters to defend them.

Gama after having ſtrictly Survey'd it, judged it the beſt way to make an Aſſault upon all the Entries at once; and accordingly charged *Francis Velho*, and *Manoel da Cunha* with the Firſt, and *John de Fanſeca*, and *Francis d' Abrew*, with the Second; who had each of

them Three Field-Pieces, taking the Third, which was by much the ſtrongeſt, to himſelf. In the Night he ordered ſeveral falſe Attacks to be made, on purpoſe to make the Enemy ſpend their Arrows, which they did in great ſhowers, without Killing or Wounding one of the *Portugueſes*; who having performed their Devotions, and received the Patriarch's Bleſſing, advanced ſo ſoon as it was Day with their Artillery; with which having plaid for ſome time upon the Entry, they afterwards fell palmall upon thoſe that Guarded them, by whom they were warmly received and repulſed twice: *Gama*, who little expected to have met with ſuch a ſtout Reſiſtance, was much concerned to ſee his Men beat off ſo; nevertheleſs reſolving ſince he had begun it, either to carry his Point, or to loſe his Life in the Enterpriſe; he made a Third Attack, in which after a long ſtruggle, he obliged the Enemy to leave the Paſs, and Retreat with a great loſs of Men to the top of the Mountain: The other two Paſſes were likewiſe opened by his Men much about the ſame time; but the Gariſon after this was ſo far from offering to Capitulate, that they diſputed every Inch of the top of the Mountain with the *Portugueſes*, fighting it out to the laſt man: Of the *Portugueſes* there were but 7 Killed, and 40 wounded in all this Action.

The ſtrong Mountain of *Amba Canet*, is ſtormed by *Gama*.

Gama ſo ſoon as he was abſolute Maſter of the Place, ſent down one to wiſh the Empreſs Joy of it; and to deſire her, to do her Mountain *Amba Camet* the honour to viſit it, aſſuring her that ſhe might now ſafely do it; there

there being not one *Mahometan* left alive upon it; the Empreſs was over-joy'd at the News, and having magnified the *Portugueſe* Valour and Conduct beyond meaſure, ſhe returned her Thanks to *Gama* for the great Service he had done her Son in reducing ſuch a ſtrong Place, but deſired to be excuſed from viſiting of it: For beſides that it was very ſteep, ſhe had not courage enough to behold the Carcaſſes it muſt be covered withal. He ſent likewiſe to the Patriarch to come up and Conſecrate the *Moſque*, which he did, Dedicating it to our *Lady of Victory*, in which after he heard Maſs, and Buried his Dead, he went down to wait upon the Empreſs, who received him with the greateſt Joy and Reſpect imaginable, extolling his Courage and Conduct to the Skies. She gave the Government of the Mountain to a Captain that was in her train, whoſe Anceſtors had formerly been Governors of it.

The Church that had been turned into a *Moſque*, is conſecrated the by *Abuna*.

The Camp continued near this Mountain all the Month of *February*, for the ſake of the wounded men; during which time, *Gama* received a Meſſage brought by two *Portugueſes* from *Manuel de Vaſconſelho*, who had been ſent by the Viceroy with Five Ships, to learn where the *Turkiſh* Galleys were, and with a freſh Supply of Arms and Ammunition. Upon this advice *Gama* ſent *Franciſco Velho* with a Guard of 40 *Portugueſes* well armed and mounted, to *Matzua*, where *Vaſconſelho* was with his Fleet, with an Order to receive the Arms and Ammunition that was ſent to him by his Brother; to whom he gave a full ac-

count by Letter, of the State of Affairs in *Ethiopia*, and of all that he had done in it. Having diſpatched this buſineſs, and their wounded men being all either dead or cured, the Empreſs and *Gama* marched into a fertile Countrey, whoſe Prince was a Chriſtian, by whom they were joyfully entertained, wanting for nothing that was neceſſary for their Camp. But they had not been many days in theſe good Quarters, before *Gama* received Letters from the Emperor, deſiring him to march towards him with all the haſte he could, he being informed that *Granhe* had reſolved to get betwixt them with an Army, which neither of them alone could be able to deal with.

Gama is intercepted in his March towards the Emperor by *Granhe*.

Upon this Advice *Gama* made long Marches to have got to the Emperor, but was notwithſtanding that intercepted by *Granhe*; from whom, upon *Palm-Sunday*, he received a Meſſage, telling him, *That he wondred at his having the Impudence to come as he did into his Kingdom with a Handful of men, for which, tho he well deſerved to be chaſtiſed, to diſcourage others from making ſuch mad Adventures; yet conſidering he was but a Boy, and had been wheedled into it by the Empreſs, who was certainly the falſeſt Woman in the world; he was ready not only to pardon him, but to convey him and his men ſafe back to their Ships; deſiring him withal to accept of the Preſent he had ſent him, which was a Monk's Cowl, and a Roſary of Beads, as much more proper for him than a Sword and Armour.* *Gama* treated the Meſſenger civilly, preſenting him with a Silk Veſt and a Medal, bidding him tell his Maſter, That

A Huffing Meſſage, with a ridiculous Preſent is ſent to *Gama* by *Granhe*.

That he ſhould have an Anſwer from him in a day or two.

A Council of War having been called thereupon, it was agreed that *Gama* ſhould return the following Anſwer to *Granhe*, *That he was ſent into* Ethiopia *by the great Lyon of the Sea, and the moſt powerful Lord of the Earth, whoſe cuſtom it was to ſuccor all that are in diſtreſs; and who having been informed that the moſt Chriſtian Emperor of* Ethiopia, *his Brother in Arms, was conquered, and in a manner driven out of his Empire by Infidels, and the Enemies of the holy Catholick Faith, had ſent him with ſome Troops to reſtore him to his Empire, which tho they were but few in number, yet he did not doubt but they were enough to fight the greateſt Armies of one who had been ſo wicked, as without any reaſon or colour of Juſtice, to diſpoſſeſs a Prince of his Empire, and that not with his own ſtrength, but becauſe the true God was pleaſed to permit it to be ſo for the chaſtiſement of the Sins of the* Habaſſins, *whoſe Wrath he hoped was now abundantly ſatisfied with what they had already ſuffered, ſo that he would now in his great mercy reſtore them again to their Ancient Liberties, and give them the Lands of their Forefathers, of which he had ſo unjuſtly robbed them.* With this Anſwer he ſent him a *large Looking-glaſs with a pair of Pinchers, ſuch as Women uſe.* *Granhe* though deſperate mad at this Anſwer and Preſent, yet could not forbear ſaying, *That Captains who had the courage to fight Armies with handfuls of men, deſerved to have great honours done them by all Princes*: But perceiving the *Portugueſes* were not to be perſuaded to lay down their Arms, he thought the beſt way to deal with

Gama returns *Granhe* a Meſſage, with a Preſent no leſs huffing than ridiculous.

ſuch deſperate People, would be to ſtarve them; which he reckoned would be eaſie for him to do, they being at that time but 350 fighting Men, whereas his Army conſiſted of 15000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, beſides 200 *Turks* with Fire-Arms.

But the *Mahometans*, after having beſieged *Gama* at a diſtance for ſome days, being aſhamed of taking ſuch a courſe with a Body of men, which they reckoned would not be a Breakfaſt to them, did oblige *Granhe* to change his Meaſures, and to lead them up to the Enemy, whom when they came near, they found ſtrongly encamped. *Granhe* finding the Enemy thus poſted, and being neither willing to diſcourage his Men by marching back again, nor to hazard them by making an Aſſault, ordered a Breaſt-work to be run up within Musket-ſhot of them, from behind which he for ſome day mauled the *Portugueſes* with his Fire-Arms; *Gama*, whoſe number could not long endure this ſport, reſolved whatever it coſt him, next night to diſlodge the Infidels, which with the help of his Artillery he did in a few hours, obliging them to keep their former diſtance, which was without Cannon Shot of his Camp, in which Action he had ſeveral wounded, but not one killed.

Gama beſieged on all ſides by *Granhe*.

After this *Gama* was more at eaſe for the preſent; yet being ſenſible that this would not do his buſineſs, the Enemy, as they lay, keeeping him from ſupplies of Proviſions, he was forced to decamp, which he did before day, and in very good order, bringing up the Rear himſelf.

He opens a paſſage to himſelf with the bravery of his Men, being aſſiſted with Artillery.

The

The Infidels perceiving so soon as it was light, that the *Portugueses* had left their Camp, pursued them with great fury, reckoning now they had got them upon plain ground, to have made short work with them.

But *Gama*, when they were come near him, plied them so with his Artillery, that he made them retreat in disorder, leaving several of their best men dead, or wounded, behind them, *Granhe* himself having his Horse shot under him, and receiving a wound in his Thigh with a Musket-bullet; there were 11 *Portugueses*, one of whom was an Ensign, killed in this Action, and several wounded; *Gama* himself having received a slight wound in the Leg; who having lain still 12 days to cure his wounded men, and observed that the Enemy had resumed his first method of starving them, he determined to fall upon them in their Quarters, which he did with good success, driving them from their Posts, and making a great slaughter among them; in this Attack *Gama* lost 14 more of his *Portugueses*, besides two that were blown up by a Barrel of Gunpowder, which took fire by accident; the noise of which was of no small advantage to him, the Enemies Horses being put into such a disorder therewith, that the Officers were not able to bring them together again; he had likewise 70 wounded, two whereof died of their Wounds.

He obligeth *Granhe* to retreat.

Granhe finding there was no breaking this Body of *Portugueses* by reason of their Discipline and Artillery, the noise whereof neither his Men nor Horse could bear, he retreated for

eight days together into a Mountainous Countrey, leaving the *Portugueſes* to the mercy of the heat, and barrenneſs of *Ethiopia*, which he hoped would make an end of them in a little time.

Gama having thus rid himſelf of the Enemy, removed his Camp to the Banks of a large and pleaſant River, where he had been but two days, when the *Portugueſes* he had ſent to *Matzua* returned to him, but without bringing any thing of that they were ſent for, the Ships that brought the Arms and Ammunition having been frighted away before they got to *Matzua*, by ſome Intelligence they had received of a Fleet of *Turkiſh* Gallies making towards them. *Baburnagays* likewiſe came back to him at the ſame time with a Body of 500 *Habaſſin* Foot and 30 Horſe.

Gama, though much troubled at this diſappointment, yet that he might loſe no time, reſolved with this ſmall Reinforcement to purſue *Granhe*, and if it were poſſible, to drive him out of the Faſtneſſes he was retired to: And ſo inſtead of marching towards the Emperor, as he had been deſired, that he might engroſs the whole glory of overcoming *Granhe* to himſelf, he marched from the Emperor after him for eight days; but as we ſhall ſee by the ſequel of the Story, was at all this pains to catch a *Tartar*. He had fallen upon *Granhe* as ſoon as he came up with him, had he not been hindred by the Empreſs, who proteſted againſt coming to a Battel before they had their whole Army together, and with much a-do perſuaded him to expect the Emperor with

with his Troops, which were reported to be much greater than they were.

While *Gama* was in these quarters, a certain *Jew*, who was Governor of a strong Mountain called *Oaty*, in the Province of *Cemen*, came to wait on him, and to let him know, That in the neighbouring Mountains there were great numbers of curious Horses which were but weakly guarded, offering if he would send any of his men to seize them, to be their Guide himself; he further told him, That it was absolutely necessary for him to make himself Master of all the Passes of that Countrey, for otherwise it would not be possible for the Emperor, who he knew was not strong enough to force his way to come at him; *Gama* was much concerned at the last part of the *Jew*'s Intelligence, having imagined the Emperor to have been much stronger than he assured him he was; whereupon he asked the Empress what she thought of the *Jew*'s report concerning her Son's Army? She told him frankly, *That she thought it was but too true*; hereupon he determined to go, and either make himself Master of those Horses and Passes, or die in the Attempt. In pursuance of which resolution, that he might not alarm *Granhe*, he marched secretly out of his Camp by night with a 100 of his *Portugueses*, and never halted till he came to the great River *Tavaze*, over which he was forced to waft his men upon *Boracho's*, or Hides full of Wind; but what was worst of all, when they came near the Mountain his design was upon, he found the Garison much stronger than

Gama conducted by a *Jew* to a Mountain, of which, and a great drove of Horses, he makes himself master.

than the *Jew* had repreſented it to have been, there being no fewer than 3000 Foot and 400 Horſe in it; but *Gama* was gone too far to think of Retreating, and therefore Fight he muſt, and did; and after having killed the Governor *Cid Ahamed* with his own hand, the *Infidels* being but raw men, diſperſed upon it, and were moſt of them knocked on the head by the *Jews*, who are the Natives of that Countrey; the *Jew* who was the Guide, is ſaid to have been ſo ſtruck with this Victory, and particularly with there not having been one *Portugueſe* Killed or Wounded in the whole Action, that looking upon it as a Miracle, he immediately turned Chriſtian, and thereupon had the Government of the Mountain conferred upon him by *Gama*, being ordered to ſend word to the Emperor of the Paſſes being opened for him and his Army: There were 300 Mules, and 800 good Horſes taken, all which *Gama* ordered to be brought after him to the Camp, whither he with the greateſt part of his Men Rode Poſt, fearing leſt he might have been intercepted by *Granhe*.

Neither was *Granhe* Idle all this Winter, who having obſerved that his Army, beſides that it would require time to bring them to endure the Thunder of Cannon, were ſtrangely cowed by their having been Beat ſo often by a handful of *Portugueſes*, writ to the *Baſhaw* of *Zebid*, a Province in *Arabia*, for ſome *Turkiſh* Troops, and a Train of Artillery, to enable him to deal with the *Portugueſes*; repreſenting the driving of them out of *Ethiopia*, as

as one of the beſt Services that could be done the *Grand Seignior*: The *Baſhaw* having 3000 *Turks*, all Veteran Soldiers, for the Guard of the *Red-Sea*, ſent him 600, ſome ſay 900 of them, with ſeveral Peices of Ordnance; and beſides theſe, he is ſaid to have received conſiderable Supplies from ſome of his other Friends in *Arabia*.

Granhe being reinforced by a Body of *Turks* and a Train of Artillery, forceth *Gama* to come to a Battel.

Theſe Foreign Troops came up to *Granhe* the very night that *Gama* returned to the Camp; with which Auxiliaries he inſtantly advanced towards the *Portugueſes*, and Encamped ſo near them, as to make them both hear and feel that he had now got Cannon as well as they.

Upon this new ſcene of Affairs, *Gama* called a Council of War to conſult what was fit to be done, and it being agreed on all hands, That there was now no poſſibility of Retreating, no, nor of waiting where they were till the Emperor came up with them, they had therefore nothing to think of but of Fighting it out, ſo as either to Conquer, or to ſell their lives dear; only, that they ſhould do all that they were able to avoid coming to Battel before the Mules and Horſes that had been taken lately by *Gama* arrived in the Camp.

But *Granhe* having now got men that were not afraid to go upon the mouth of a Cannon, advanced next day within Musket-ſhot of the *Portugueſes*, reſolving if they did not come out to Fight, to ſtorm their Camp, which he reckoned himſelf ſtrong enough to do: *Gama* perceiving their deſign, Sally'd out to demoliſh

liſh a Mount *Granbe* was raiſing to plant his Cannon upon, and which would have commanded his whole Camp; in which Sally he made the *Turks* give ground, until overpowered by Number, he was forced to retreat; having loſt ſome Officers, and ſeveral of his Soldiers in the Action; *Gama* made ſeveral other brisk Sallies, but was ſtill repulſed with loſs, and in one of them was himſelf Wounded: When night came on, the Empreſs and all the Officers were at *Gama* to retire to the Mountains, it not being poſſible for them to hold out another day againſt ſo great and well-diſciplin'd an Army: *Gama* was put into ſuch a rage by the motion, that he drew his Sword, and brandiſhing it, cri'd out, *They that will ſteal away by night may do it, but for my own part I am reſolved to ſtay and fight the* Infidels; *and if his Countreymen would be ſo baſe as to deſert him and leave him alone to defend the Camp, he could not hinder them, but out of it he was reſolved not to ſtir unleſs it was to Fight the Enemy.* The Officers finding there was no perſuading of *Gama* to go with them, laid violent hands on him, and having ſet him upon a Mule, carried him with them as a Priſoner. They were not well got out of their Camp with *Gama*, (the Empreſs and Patriarch having departed ſome time before) when the *Turks* broke into it, where finding 40 *Portugueſes*, who by reaſon of their Wounds had been left behind, they knocked them all on the head; and underſtanding that *Gama* could not be got far, a Body of *Turks* was ordered immediately to purſue him, who having before Sun-riſing got

Gama routed and taken Priſoner.

got between him and the Mountains, by noon they found them lying under a Tree quite ſpent with the loſs of Blood, and the Fatigue of the Battel; and having mounted him on a Horſe, they carried him to *Granhe*.

The *Portugueſe* Hiſtorians, as if they reckoned *that to have neither Fear nor Wit, were the true Character of a Hero,* do according to their cuſtom, on this occaſion *ſacrifice* Gama's *diſcretion to the Reputation of his Courage:* Who, they ſay, upon *Granhe*'s asking him, *How he would have treated him, had the Fortune of War made him his Priſoner?* made anſwer, *That he would have cut off his Head, and have ſent it as a Preſent to the Emperor.* The *fooliſh Bravery of which Anſwer* was ſo far from obliging *Granhe* to give him his Life, that he gave him *Lex talionis*; having, after he had treated him barbarouſly for a day or two, order'd his Head to be chopped off in his preſence; at which the *Turks*, who deſign'd to have made a Preſent of him to their *Baſſa*, are ſaid to have been very angry. *Gama* beheaded.

A *Portugueſe* who was a Priſoner, and preſent when *Gama* was murthered, having afterwards made his eſcape, gave an ample account of all the Particulars of *Gama*'s carriage at his death; and among other things, affirmed, that he ſaw with his own eyes *a great fountain of moſt delicate water guſh out of the earth* Gama's *Head fell upon, when it was chopped off.* This Miracle was the eaſier ſwallowed, it being no more than *what the Heads of all Legendary Saints have done, who have happened to be beheaded.*

This

This is the ſubſtance of the ſo much *celebrated Expedition of* Don Chriſtopher Da Gama, which as I have related it, is I doubt big enough for *the belief of any indifferent perſon*, but is much too great for that of the *moſt credulous, if impartial*, as it is magnified by his Countreymen; to whoſe *Romantick way of writing their Lives, the Memory of their Heroes (of which Race few Kingdoms of its bigneſs have produced either more or greater than* Portugal*) is little beholden:* Which *common Fault in the* Spaniſh *and* Portugueſe *Writers,* I do not in the leaſt attribute to *any defect of Natural Judgment in them, that being a talent that few Nations excel them in; but purely to their reading Romances ſo much when they are young, and eſpecially Eccleſiaſtical ones, that is, the Lives and Legends of their Saints, the Writers whereof, inſtead of troubling themſelves to collect Informations, do ſhut themſelves up in a Cell, and ſay every thing of their Hero that they think will make for his Honour.*

The Emperor joins the *Habaſſins* and *Portugueſes.*

After this Rout, the Empreſs and Patriarch retreated to the ſtrong Mountain *Gama* had made himſelf Maſter of a little before; where they had not been Ten Days, before the Emperor came to them with a ſmall Army; but having after ſome Months got a Body of 500 Horſe and 8000 Foot together, he reſolved to march and offer the Enemy Battel, being ſtrongly urged to it by the *Portugueſes*, who tho but 90 in number, were mad to revenge the Death of their General.

Cunha, who after the Defeat had retreated with 40 of his *Portugueſes* into *Tigre,* was ſent to to come and join the Groſs; but that not being

being possible, by reason of the Enemy's being posted betwixt them, the Emperor advanced with the Forces he had with him; and being come within sight of the Enemy, encamped himself strongly for some days; during which time there were frequent Skirmishes; in all of which the *Portugueses* are said to have done Wonders, if not to have wrought Miracles. The *Habassin* General, in whose Conduct and Courage the Soldiers placed their chief confidence, happening to be slain in an Ambush the *Turks* had laid for him, the Emperor had much ado to keep the Army from dispersing upon that unlucky Accident; and to prevent it, was obliged to offer the Enemy Battel some days sooner than he had otherwise intended to have done.

The *Portugueses* having desired it, had the Van given them, and were joined with 250 *Habassin* Horse, and 3500 Foot: The Rear, which was commanded by the Emperor in Person, consisted of the same Number of Horse and Foot.

The Enemies Van, which was made up of 200 *Turks* with Fire-Arms, 600 *Mooriſh* Horse, and 7000 Foot, was commanded by *Granhe* himself; and the Rear, consisting of 600 Horse, and 6000 Foot, by a great *Turkish* Captain.

The Two Armies were no sooner drawn into the Field, than they ran upon one another, with great Fury, making a great Slaughter on both sides; and the Body of *Turks* happening to charge the *Habassins* that were in the Van, gave them such a shock as obliged them

He fights and routs *Granhe.*

them to retreat in great disorder; which having been timely observed by the *Portugueses*, who were hewing their way through the Battalions they were engaged withal, they wheeled about, and attacked the Victorious *Turks* with that vigor, that they quickly forced them to give ground, and with the loss of a great many of their best men to retire to their Gross; but the *Portugueses* not being content with that, followed their Blow, and with the Assistance of the *Habassins* who had rallied again, broke into the Main Body of the Enemy, so as to make it give ground apace; which being perceived by *Granhe*, he galloped up to them, and having put himself on their Head, did act the part both of a great Captain, and a stout Soldier, till he received a Mortal Wound with a Musket Bullet in his breast: His men when they saw him fall from his Horse, instead of seeking to revenge his Death, or to carry off his Body, threw down their Arms, and betook themselves to their heels; only a *Turkish* Captain who was near him when he received his Death's Wound, defended his Body with his Scimiter in his hand till he fell dead upon it, and sold his own life dear.

Granhe killed fighting.

The *Portugueses* and *Habassins* pursued the Enemy so close, that few of them escaped; the *Turks* were all killed to 14, who keeping together in a Body, got before it was day to the place where *Granhe* had left his Queen, whom with a vast Treasure in Gold and Jewels, they conveyed to a place of safety, to the great loss and sorrow of the *Habassins*.

It

It is said there was not one *Portugueſe* killed or wounded in this Fight, which they will have to have *been a miracle*, owing *to the Standard they had bore* ever ſince *Gamas*'s death, which *was our Lady of mercy*; whereas before, when they loſt men, they had fought *under the Banner of the five Wounds of Chriſt, which are the Arms of the King of* Portugal.

Upon the news of this Victory all the Princes and Governors of *Ethiopia*, who had ſided with *Granhe*, flocked to throw themſelves at the Emperor's feet, who by pardoning them all to a man, was immediately reſtored to the full and quiet poſſeſſion of his Empire.

The Emperor being reſtored to the quiet poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, quarrels with the *Portugueſes*.

The Emperor for ſome time after the Victory, careſſed the *Portugueſes* highly, acknowledging on all occaſions that he owed his Crown purely to their Valour: But whether it was that the Emperor, after the faſhion of too many Princes, looking upon *the Services the* Portugueſes *had done him, as too great to be rewarded by him, did for that reaſon begin to hate them, as a reproach to him*; or that the *Portugueſes overvaluing their Services, which is likewiſe a common fault on the other ſide, did grow troubleſome and inſolent thereupon, and demanded greater Rewards than were juſt, or than the Emperor could conveniently give them*; or whether it was the Patriarch's teizing the Emperor *inſtantly to declare himſelf a Roman-Catholick*; it is certain they came in a ſhort time to an open rupture, the Emperor accuſing the *Portugueſes* of *Impertinence and Inſolence*, and the *Portugueſes* the Emperor *of Ingratitude*, and *breach of Faith*, pretending he had promiſed the King

The chief cauſe of this Quarrel was the *Abuna* urging the Emperor to turn Roman-Catholick preſently.

of *Portugal*, that whensoever he should be restored to the peaceable possession of his Empire, he would immediately *declare himself a Roman-Catholick, and give the third part of his Dominions to the* Portugueses.

But the Emperor, as he absolutely denied his having ever made any such promise, so he conjured the Patriarch not to trouble him any more about his Religion, being resolved never to change it for that of Popery, which he called *Nestorianism*, and accused of *worshipping Four Gods*; adding, That he was the Pastor and Prelate of all the *Franks* that were in *Ethiopia*, but had nothing to do with his Subjects, who had a Prelate of their own, to wit the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in whose obedience, after the Example of his Ancestors, he was resolved to live and die.

The Emperor is resolved never to turn Roman-Catholick.

The Patriarch finding he was not to be perswaded to embrace Popery, was for trying whether he could not terrify him into it, by obliging the *Portugueses* by his Censures, not to serve him any longer until he made profession of it.

The Emperor is said at first to have laughed at this Excommunication, as the effect of the impotent Passion of an angry old man, who would needs be exercising jurisdiction where he had none; and it is more than probable, considering his present Circumstances, and the small number the *Portugueses* were then reduced to, that he continued to do so to the last: Notwithstanding it is reported, That when he found the *Portugueses* would serve him no longer, unless he declared himself a Roman-

Roman-Catholick, that he ſubmitted, abjuring the *Alexandrian* Faith, and making profeſſion of that of *Rome* in the hands of the Patriarch.

But however that were, it is certain, that the Emperor at this time did not only declare, That he would *never ſubmit himſelf and his Empire to the Pope*, who beſides that he was a *Neſtorian* Heretick, had nothing to do with a Church, which from its very firſt foundation had been all along ſubject to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*; but to ſhew the World that he was in earneſt, he writ to the Patriarch of *Alexandria* to ſend an *Abuna* into *Ethiopia*, according to the cuſtom of his Predeceſſors.

The Patriarch and *Portugueſes*, when they came to hear of this Meſſage, did ſtorm and threaten at ſuch a rate, that the Emperor began to conſider how he might rid his Countrey of Gueſts who would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the *extirpation of its Ancient Religion*, and *the eſtabliſhment of Popery*; the *toleration of their own Religion*, which he reckoned a great favour, *being what they deſpiſed, and reckoned to be no kindneſs at all*: Whereupon the Emperor is ſaid to have given ſecret Orders for 2000 Soldiers to be ſent to diſarm, if not maſſacre all the *Portugueſes* that were in *Ethiopia*, as a People not to be endured any longer; but the *Portugueſes* having had timely notice of this Plot againſt their Lives, did by keeping ſtill together in a body, prevent the execution of it.

The Emperor having the news brought him of the *Abuna* he had ſent for, being on his Journey, to manifeſt his great Zeal for his Religion, went as far as *Deboroa* on purpoſe to meet him: Where, when the *Abuna*, whoſe name was *Joſeph*, arrived, he was received by him with the greateſt Feſtivities that had ever been ſeen before in *Ethiopia* on the like occaſion.

The Patriarch *Bermudes*, who could not endure to think of any *Abuna* in *Ethiopia* beſides himſelf, poſted after the Emperor to try to prevent it; but the Emperor hearing he was coming after him, and not caring to be ſchooled by him any longer, ordered him to be apprehended, and carried Priſoner to one of his ſtrong Mountains, from whence, after ſome Months confinement, he was reſcued by his Countrymen, and carried by them into *Tigre*, where he lived under the protection of *Baburnagays*, the great Patron of the *Portugueſes*, until he was carried off to the *Indies* by the Jeſuits to make room for a Succeſſor of their own Order, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The Emperor, now he had rid himſelf of the Popiſh Patriarch, who would never let him be quiet day nor night with his Religion, began to expreſs great kindneſs again to all the *Portugueſes* that remained, employing ſeveral of them about his Perſon, and giving ſuch Eſtates to the reſt, that there was not one of them but what kept his Horſe or Mule, and lived with the Equipage of a Gentleman; inſomuch that there was but one hard thing whereof they could accuſe the Emperor, which

which was, *That he would not ſuffer them, after he had told them above an hundred times that he would never change his Religion, to trouble him any more about it.*

But while things ſtood thus as to Religion in *Ethiopia*, all the News in *Portugal* and *Rome* was, that the *Portugueſes* had reſtored the Emperor to all his Dominions, and had thereby obliged him to that degree, that he was not contented with declaring that he would ſubmit himſelf to the *Roman* Church, but that he would make his whole Empire to do the ſame; which News, ſo ſlow was their Intelligence from thence, continued to be believed by moſt people in *Europe* as undoubtedly true, for at leaſt three years after *Claudius* had made a ſolemn declaration to the contrary, and that nothing in the world ſhould ever oblige him to change his Ancient Faith for that of *Rome*.

The King of *Portugal* thinks of ſending a new Patriarch into *Ethiopia*.

Ignatius Loyola being ſenſible that his new Order had every-where a great many Enemies, and eſpecially among the other Orders of Friars, who were all grown jealous of its over-topping them; was caſting about to find ſome great work for them to do, whereby they might for ever eſtabliſh their Reputation in the *Roman* Church; and believing all that was reported of the greatneſs of the *Habaſſin* Empire, and of the good diſpoſition it was in to ſubmit it ſelf to the Pope, he laboured day and night to obtain that Province for his Fryars; and that he might intereſt himſelf therein with the better grace, he begged leave ſolemnly of the Pope to go into *Ethiopia*

Ignatius Loyala labours to engroſs the *Habaſſin* Miſſion to his new Order.

in perſon to promote the ſubmiſſion of that Church to him; which being denied him to his great grief, he begged that ſince he himſelf was not thought worthy of that honour, that a Miſſion of his Friars might be ſent thither, and this he plied ſo cloſe, as to carry it: For beſides that he himſelf was indefatigable in the purſuit thereof, he commanded all the Jeſuits that were at *Lisbon*, to wait upon the King at leaſt once a Month about it, and one *Lewis Goncalves da Camara*, a Jeſuit, who was of a Noble Family in *Portugal*, not to fail to ſpeak to the *Portugueſe* Embaſſador at the Court of *Rome* once in three days concerning it; which that Father obſerved ſo punctually, and teized the Embaſſador ſo much about it, that the Embaſſador's Servants when they ſaw him coming, uſed to ſay of him, *Here comes our Lord's* Tertian *Ague*.

By theſe indefatigable diligences, *Ignatius* carried both his points, which were, That a ſplendid Miſſion ſhould be ſent into *Ethiopia* to take the ſubmiſſion of that Church to the *Roman*, and that none but his Friars ſhould be imployed in it; and having the Nomination of them left to himſelf, he named one *John Nunes Baretto* a *Portugueſe* to go *Patriarch*, and *Andrew Oviedo* a Spaniard, and *Melchior Carneiro* a *Portugueſe*, who were to be both made Biſhops; the firſt of *Hieropolis*, and the ſecond of *Nice*; and to be Coadjutors to the Patriarch, and who in caſe they Survived him, were in their turns to ſucceed him in that Dignity; to which he added ten Jeſuits more, having, as he told the Emperor in his Letter to him,

A Patriarch, two Biſhops, Coadjutors, with 10 Friars all of the Jeſuits order, are nominated to go into *Ethiopia*.

him, pitched upon that number, that the Patriarch and his twelve Companions might represent Christ and his twelve Apostles: Upon *Ignatius* Nomination of these Missionaries, the Pope's Bulls for Authorizing them were dispatched to *Lisbon*; the Bull of the Patriarch Elect was as followeth:

Julius Bishop, *the Servant of the Servants of God, To my Beloved Son* John *Elect of* Ethiopia, *and of all the Kingdoms subject to Precious* John *the Illustrious Emperor of* Ethiopia, *Health and Apostolical Benediction.*

The Pope's Bull for the Consecrating of the new *Habassin* Patriarch.

WHEREAS we have been lately solicited in your Name, which to us and our Brethren is very acceptable; we with the Council of our said Brethren have by our Apostolical Authority, promoted you to the Patriarchal Church of Ethiopia, *and of all the Kingdoms belonging* to our beloved Son in Christ, Precious John, *the Illustrious Emperor of the said* Ethiopia, *which is at this time in a manner destitute of the Consolation of a Pastor; Making and Constituting you by the said Council and Authority, Patriarch and Pastor thereof during your Life; or for so long as you shall keep the Charge, Government, and Administration of all the Affairs Spiritual and Temporal of the said Church; as we do also Constitute our Beloved Son* Andrew, *Elect of* Hieropolis, *and* Melchior *Elect of* Nice, *your Coadjutors, with full, free, and entire faculty, power and authority, to make, treat, exercise, and procure all things in general, and every thing in particular, which do of right and custom belong to such Coadjutors, from this time forward in all matters of*

Juriſdiction, and after they are conſecrated, in all matters of Order likewiſe; and in caſe of accidents, we have provided that the ſaid Elects, Andrew *and* Melchior, *ſhall after a certain form or manner be ſucceſſively Paſtors and Patriarchs of the ſaid Church; and we have ſent you by a certain Meſſenger your Pall, which is the Enſign of the perfect power of the Pontifical Office, taken from the body of the bleſſed St.* Peter, *which was deſired of us in your behalf with that inſtance as is fitting, and as was ſignified by you, after the manner and form as was therein declared, and as is more amply contained in our Letters. And we having conſidered the great diſtance of the ſaid Church from the Court of* Rome, *and how difficult a thing it is to come from thence hither, and how great and dangerous either by Sea or Land the Voyage is; and being for that reaſon deſirous, ſo far as we are able with a good Conſcience, to eaſe you and your Succeſſors, the Patriarchs of* Ethiopia, *and of all the Kingdoms belonging thereunto, of ſuch a Journey; we do grant to you, and the ſaid Elects,* Andrew *and* Melchior, *upon their ceaſing to be Coadjutors, and to all your other Succeſſors of the ſaid Patriarchal Church of* Ethiopia, *and the Kingdoms thereunto belonging for all times to come, the privilege of wearing the foreſaid Pall, within the Church of* Ethiopia, *and all the Kingdoms thereof, upon the Feſtivities of* Eaſter, Whitſuntide, *and* Chriſtmas; *as alſo upon thoſe of Circumciſion, Epiphany, and Aſcenſion of our Lord; as alſo upon the Feaſt of* Corpus Chriſti, *St.* Stephen, *St.* John, Palm-Sunday, *the* Thurſday *and* Saturday *in the holy Week, and of the invention of the Croſs, and of* John *the Baptiſt; and on all the days of the Apoſtles,*

ſtles, and on the Three Feſtivities of the Bleſſed Virgin, and on All-Saints-day, *and on the days of the Conſecration of the Chief Churches under their juriſdiction, and on the days whereon you ordain Prieſts, or Conſecrate Biſhops; and if it ſhould ſo happen, which God forbid, that the ſaid Pall ſhould either be loſt by the way, or be ſtolen, or ſhould be any other way embezeled, you may in that caſe make and bleſs ſuch another Pall, which you and your Succeſſors, by us inſtituted, may uſe as is above preſcribed; you ſhall likewiſe cauſe a Croſs to be carried before you in all places of your Province.*

When the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the ſaid Province ſhall be Elected by our beloved Sons, the Chapters of Churches, or according to the cuſtom of the place, but ſo, that it ſhall always be in your power to ſupply all defects if any ſhould happen to be in the Forms of their Elections, and be approved of, and Confirmed, and Inſtituted by you, they ſhall then be obliged with all poſſible expedition to intimate their Election, Confirmation and Inſtitution to the Apoſtolical See, taking an Oath of due fidelity to it, in the form hereafter preſcribed; and having given the cuſtomary obedience, ſhall ſend the ſaid Oath likewiſe to the ſaid See.

And you being aſſiſted by the ſaid Andrew *and* Melchior, *Elects, if they are preſent, or otherwiſe you, they not being to be had, or they being out of the Office of Coadjutor, may, being* aſſiſted by two lawful Prieſts ordained according to the cuſtom of the Church of *Rome, until* ſuch time as you can have two Biſhops lawfully Conſecrated, *in which caſe you muſt be aſſiſted by two Biſhops, and not by two Presbyters,* Conſecrate the

The Pope allows of the Conſecration of a Biſhop, by one Biſhop and two Presbyters.

the ſaid Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſo Elected, Confirmed *and* Inſtituted, *they having firſt preſented to you, or to others, their Letters, certifying their Election, Confirmation and Inſtitution, as alſo the form of the Oath of obedience that they have taken: And the Archbiſhops thus Conſecrated, after they have the Pall given them, may uſe all the Inſignia of Archbiſhops, as the Biſhops ſo ordained may likewiſe all thoſe of Biſhops, and may likewiſe conſecrate the holy Oil, and confirm and confer holy Orders, and perform all the other Offices appertaining to a Biſhop, and may likewiſe reſpectively exerciſe the ordinary power, and whatſoever is proper and cuſtomary for Archbiſhops and Biſhops to exerciſe; you may alſo give to Archbiſhops thus Conſecrated, the Pall, which is the ſign of Pontifical Perfection, which they ſhall uſe after the manner above preſcribed; you may likewiſe divide and diſtinguiſh the Provinces and Dioceſes of the ſaid Archbiſhops and Biſhops, which have not hitherto been divided; and may alſo grant Licenſes to all ſuch as you ſhall judge fit to Preach and Declare the word of God to the People; and if they are Prieſts, to adminiſter all the Sacraments, excepting thoſe of Confirmation and holy Orders, and to Conſecrate Altars, with all their Ornaments, together with the Sacerdotal Veſtments, and all other things ſave Chalices and Patins; you may likewiſe abſolve all perſons whatſoever within your Province, or that are any other way your Subjects, by a Dioceſan, as well as Patriarchal right, from all manner of Sins, and Excommunications which they may have incurred, and from all Suſpenſions, Interdicts, and other Cenſures and Eccleſiaſtical Penalties how great ſoever, nay, tho of that number which are reſerved by the* Bull[a] Cæn[a]

Cæna Domini, *injoining them healthful penances in all such cases in proportion to the nature of their faults; you may likewise Communicate faculties to Bishops, to absolve in all such cases as you or the Patriarchs of* Ethiopia *for the time being shall judge convenient; and if it shall be thought fit, you may by your self or others dispense with all persons as to any irregularities they have contracted by Bigamy, provided it was not true; or Homicide, so it was not voluntary; which when they are so, must never be dispenced withal but on great occasions, and for the publick good, and for want of Age also, and with any of the other impediments to holy Orders, or the exercise thereof; as also as to the Sacrament of Matrimony in whatsoever degree of Affinity or Consanguinity Spiritual or Carnal, those only excepted which are prohibited by the Divine Law; and Spiritual Affinity in Matrimony shall never be contracted betwixt the Godfather and Godmother, and their Godchildren; you may also commute Vows into any pious work, provided they be not the solemn Vows of Religion and Chastity.*

At three times in the Year, to wit, Christmas, Easter *and* Whitsuntide, *you may grant plenary Indulgences to all People of the said Province, who being contrite have voluntarily confessed their Sins, obliging them before you grant them, to Fast, and devoutly to beseech God in behalf of all the faithful of the* Roman *Church; and on any other days you may grant Temporary Indulgences and Remission of Sins, which must never exceed the term of Ten years; you may likewise give license to your Friars to read Heretical Books, and may at your pleasure unite, annex, and incorporate Ecclesiastical Benefices into Churches or other Pious and Religious places,*

places, for the Spiritual or Temporal advantage of the Neighbours; and may erect and found general Universities and Colleges, wherein People may take all Degrees of Master and Doctor; and likewise Hospitals for the Poor, the Sick, and Strangers, Male and Female; as also Monasteries and Colleges for Boys and Girls, and Orphans; in all which, works of Piety and Charity may be exercised: You may either in your Person, or by your Deputies, visit with a Plenary Jurisdiction all the said Universities, Colleges, Hospitals, Monasteries, and all other Religious Houses of what Order or Sex soever, and reform them as well in the Head as in the Members; and Chastise, Correct, and Punish all that shall be found faulty, and may remove them from one place to another. You may also, if you find it necessary, found Religious Houses of both Sexes, and approve, disprove, or extinguish such as are already founded, or may reduce divers Religions to one, and reform their Constitutions, by either adding to them, or taking from them, as you shall think fit in the Lord. You may give License to the poor, Religious, or not Religious, to beg and desire Alms in the name of any Saint. You shall furthermore in our Name, and in that of the Holy See, *declare to the people of your Province, the Faith of the* Roman Church, *and which are the Canonical Scriptures that they ought to hold and follow in every thing: You must likewise condemn the writings which the* Roman Church *rejects and condemns; and must determine and declare to them which Ecclesiastical precepts do oblige them under the penalty of a mortal sin, and which do not. You may further by your Authority, so that nothing be changed that is decreed*

creed by the Divine and Natural Law, make Orders concerning all matters which are of positive right, even so far as Excommunications, Suspensions, Interdicts, and other Ecclesiastical Sentences, Censures, Penalties, and Irregularities, which any may have incurred upon the account of such matters, declaring which are Obligatory, and which are not, until such time as the Apostolical See *shall otherwise order. You may also grant Dispensations concerning all such matters, and may Legitimate Bastards, and others that have any defect in their Birth. You must create a* Notary, *who by the* Apostolical Authority *may see all the matters executed, which can be done by any* Legate de Laterre, *or* Nuncio *of the said* See. *You may also make Compositions with any People for Ecclesiastical Fruits or Revenues that have been unjustly received, and employ the Money to some Pious use. Finally, you may lawfully and freely do and execute all things in general, and every thing in particular, that appertains to the Edification and Salvation of Souls, or that are seasonable, until such time as you shall receive an answer concerning them from the said* See; *and to you, our Son* John *Elect, in case the said* Andrew, *and* Melchior, *or either of them should happen to die before you, we do by these Presents, and the said* Apostolical Authority, *grant a Faculty, and a Plenary and Free Power, freely and lawfully to Name and Elect one or more Coadjutors, who shall succeed one another in the said Church of* Ethiopia, *and the Kingdoms thereunto belonging, and to Institute and Consecrate them Bishops and Successors, obliging them to intimate their Election, Institution, and Consecration to the said* See, *in the manner aforesaid, and to take an*

Oath

Oath of Fidelity and Obedience thereunto, as is above prescribed, and by Letters to acquaint the said See *therewith: All which must be done with the Approbation of the Council that is to be erected for the handling of all weighty Affairs, and which you shall hereafter Constitute. All Constitutions and Apostolical Ordinances, and Reservatories, though of Cathedral Churches, or of this Patriarchal Church, tho confirmed by Oath, or Apostolical Confirmation, or by any Confirmation, Statutes, Customs, or any other way to the contrary notwithstanding.*

Given at St. *Peters* in *Rome*, on the 17th. day of *February*, in the year of our Lord 1554. in the 5th. year of our Pontificate.

The Patriarch, and one of his Coadjutors, are Consecrated at *Lisbon*.

The *Bulls* of the *three Elects* being come to *Lisbon*, the King looking upon it as the greatest honour that had ever been done to *Portugal* to have a Patriarch consecrated in it, made great Preparations for that Ceremony; the Patriarch, and the Bishop of *Hieropolis*, were both consecrated in the Church of the *Trinity Friars* by *Don Julian d'Abreu*, Bishop of *Portalegree*, and *Dom Gasper* Bishop of the Island of St. *Thomas*, and *Dom Peter* Bishop of *Hippo*; *Melchior* Elect of *Nice*, having Sailed from *Lisbon* for the *Indies* four days before the arrival of the *Bulls*.

But notwithstanding the King and the whole Court honoured this Consecration with their presence, yet I do not find that any of *the great Prelates* of the Kingdom were present at it; which, together with its not having been performed in *the See Church*, but in the Chappel of a Convent, and that by two

two Titulars, and the Pooreſt Biſhop in *Portugal*, makes me ſuſpect that the great Prelates were not over-well pleaſed with this upſtart Order leaping ſo ſoon into ſuch high Dignities.

For about the time of this Promotion, and which it is like enough might contribute ſomething towards it, there was a moſt terrible ſtorm raiſed both in *Spain* and *France* againſt the whole Order of the *Jeſuits*.

Don John, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who continued a mortal Enemy to it till his death, driving them out of the *Univerſity of* Completum *in the year* 1555, *and prohibiting all his Prieſts, upon pain of Deprivation, to make uſe of any of their Exerciſes*; *and prohibiting all others, upon pain of Excommunication, to confeſs themſelves to any of them.* The *Sorbon* likewiſe declared about the ſame time, *That the Society of Jeſus was dangerous to the Faith, a diſturber of the Peace of the Church, pernicious to Monaſtical Religion, and, in a word, was for Deſtruction, and not for Edification.*

The Jeſuits leaping ſo quickly into ſuch high dignities, contrary to their Vows, creates them Enemies.

There were two things, one would think, might have been ſome rubs in the way of this promotion, though we do not find they were in the leaſt.

The firſt was, That there was a Patriarch, and one of the Pope's own Confirming, then living in *Ethiopia*, of whom we ſhall hear more hereafter.

The ſecond was, the Vow that is taken by the Jeſuits, never directly nor indirectly to ſeek after any Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, either within

within or without their Order; which they had violated with a witneſs, in ſeeking after a Miſſion of this nature, which was not to be performed without ſome high Prelates. Neither do we any where read, that *Ignatius*, when he laboured ſo hard to get his Friars employed therein, did deſire only the Miniſtry of it for them, leaving the Prelacy thereof to ſuch as were under no Vows to the contrary.

But however the Clergy ſtood affected, the King was extreamly pleaſed with this Promotion, and preſented the Patriarch with extraordinary rich Veſtments, and with a noble ſet of Plate for his own Altar; all which, upon this Miſſion miſcarrying, was afterwards given by King *Sebaſtian* to the Jeſuits College at *Goa*, where the Patriarch had lodged it.

The Patriarch, by reaſon of his *Bulls* not having come till ſome days after the *India* Fleet departed, was obliged to wait a year for the next Fleet; during which time he lived for the moſt part at St. *Rocks*, the Houſe of the profeſſed Jeſuits at *Lisbon*, of whoſe Chappel he laid the firſt Stone.

The King of *Portugal* wiſely ſuſpecting that things were not ſo ripe in *Ethiopia* as they were reported to be, ſends an Envoy for true Intelligence.

But notwithſtanding it was generally believed both at *Rome* and *Lisbon*, that the *Habaſſin* Church and Empire were as good as reconciled to the Pope; yet there did not want ſome ſober Heads at *Lisbon*, who doubted whether all things were ſo well in *Ethiopia* as they were reported to be, and as it is plain the Pope and *Ignatius* thought they were; the former in his Bull, calling the Emperor his

Beloved

Beloved Son, and the latter calling him his *Lord in Christ*, in his long Letter that he writ to him, and in a ſtyle as if he had been a ſecond *Pope* of *Rome*. This Letter of *Ignatius* is ſet down at length by *Maffeus*, and all the other Writers of his Life, in which there are but two things that are remarkable; the one is, his quoting the Firſt Council of *Conſtantinople*, and the Council of *Chalcedon* for *the Authoritative Supremacy of the Pope*; whereas thoſe Councils do place the *Pope's primacy of Order*, which was all they allowed him, on a bottom that quite deſtroys the *Florentine* Supremacy, founding it purely upon *the Secular conſideration*, *of Old* Rome *being the firſt City in the* Roman *Empire*. And the ſecond is, his proving from Pope *Marcellus*'s Decretal Epiſtle, which is acknowledged by all Learned Roman-Catholicks to have been a Spurious Brat of the Eighth or Ninth Century, That God did expreſly *command St.* Peter *to fix his See at* Rome.

But to return to the thread of my Story.

The King having been made jealous by ſome of his Miniſters, that *Ethiopia* might not be altogether ſo well diſpoſed to ſubmit it ſelf to the Pope, as was commonly believed, gave Orders to *Don Peter Maſcarenhas*, who Commanded the Fleet that Sailed for the *Indies* four days before the coming of the Pope's *Bulls* to *Lisbon*, ſo ſoon as he arrived at *Goa*, to diſpatch an Envoy thither to bring certain tidings of the preſent ſtate of its Affairs; who accordingly ſo ſoon as he was arrived

at *Goa*, sent one *James Dias Opreſtes*, joyning Father *Gancalro Rodriguez*, a Jeſuit, with him, into *Ethiopia*, to bring Intelligence how matters ſtood there; this Jeſuits chief, if not only buſineſs in *Ethiopia*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, was, if he found the Patriarch *Bermudes* alive, to fetch him off, to make a clear ſtage for his Succeſſor; ſince it would not have looked well to have had two *Popiſh* Patriarchs together in *Ethiopia*.

Theſe Envoys ſailed from *Goa* in *February* 1555, and in 30 days landed ſafe at *Arkiko*, where having reſted themſelves for ſome time, they continued their Journey by Land till they came to the place where their old Friend *Bahurnagays* reſided, who having received them with great kindneſs, ſent them with a good Convoy to the Court. But

The Jeſuit *Rodriguez* having given the World a very particular relation of all this Negotiation at the *Habaſſin* Court, I ſhall ſet it down word for word as he reports it.

Rodriguez the Jeſuit, who went with the Envoy into *Ethiopia*, his account of their Voyage and Negotiation.

On the 26th. of *May* we came to the King of *Ethiopia*'s Court, which is nothing but a Camp full of Tents; the King was pleaſed to give us a publick Audience the ſecond day after our Arrival, into whoſe preſence when we were introduced, we found him ſeated in a Chair hung round with Silk Curtains, as indeed the whole Tent was, the Floor of the Room being covered with a rich Carpet. *James Dias* having delivered our Letters to the King, he Commanded them to be Read in the hearing of all the *Portugueſes* that belonged

to

the Court, who were all permitted to be present at the Ceremony. In which Letters our Lord the King having acquainted him with his intention of sending one of his Courtiers, with a certain number of Friars of Good lives and sound Doctrine next year to him; the King when he heard that, was all of a sudden in a great disorder, and had his thoughts so taken up with it, that when we spoke to him, he never returned us any answer that was to the purpose, but dismissed us to return to our Tents. Within two or three days after this Audience, the King took a Progress to visit his Grandmother, who lived at a place that was Eight or Ten days Journey from the Camp, in which he left us, without having given any order about our Entertainment, and without sending us so much as any thing of a Complement: So that I do not know what would have become of us, had not an honourable *Portugueſe* carried us to his House, which was Two or Three Leagues from the Camp, and Entertained us there till the King returned, which he did not in a Month.

During that time I composed a Treatise of the Errors of *Ethiopia*, and of the Truth of our Holy Faith, with an intention to have presented it to the King; who, as I was told by a *Potugueſe* that was much in his Favour, had no kindness for the *Roman Pontiff*, and had said openly, *That he stood in no need of the Friars the King of* Portugal *was so forward to send him, being fully resolved never to submit himself to the* Roman Church.

An expression of the greatness of the *Habassin* Zeal against Popery.

I was informed likewise by all the *Portugueses* of the Court, That several of the Grandees had been heard to say, *That they would sooner put themselves under the* Mahometans, *than turn* Papists: This put me upon writing all that I could have Preached to them, if I could have spoke their Language, that so I might by the answer the King returned to it, clearly discover his thoughts which he had so long dissembled: when we heard of the King's being returned to the Camp, we went presently to wait upon him, and were told by several *Portugueses* that belonged to the Court, That the King had not so much as once mentioned our Names since our Audience.

Now the Treatise I had composed being in *Portuguese*, it was necessary if I would have the King to read it, to get it Translated into *Chaldee*; whereupon I writ a Letter to the King himself, to desire him to let me have a couple of Learned Monks to Translate the Truths of our Faith into *Chaldee*, I having put them together on purpose to shew how little reason his people had to call us of the *Roman* Communion, *Hereticks*; and to affirm that we were worse than *Mahometans*; and being informed that the *Habassins* had a Book among them, written by the *Schismaticks* and *Hereticks* of *Alexandria*, from whence they have their *Abuna*'s, having paid a Tribute to the *Turk* for that privilege, Entituled, *The Adultery of the* Franks; wherein, among other things, the Council of *Calcedon* is condemned, pretending that it taught that there were Four Persons in the Holy Trinity; and we are likewise

likewiſe charged with divers Errors, I begg'd of the King that I might have a ſight of that Book.

The King would not let me have the Book, and was very angry that I had been told of it; but as to the Monks I had deſired, he ordered a couple to come to me, but they had not well begun the Tranſlation, before either out of fear that the King would be diſpleaſed with them if they went on with it, or becauſe he had privately Commanded them not to do it, they gave it over; ſo that I was obliged to repair to a *Portugueſe* Captain to ſpeak to them to finiſh it; who with much ado prevailed with them to go on: The Interpreter on my ſide was a worthy *Portugueſe*, who underſtood both the Languages well.

Having at laſt got my Treatiſe Tranſlated, the next thing I had to do, was to get it written out fair, and having deſired an Amanuenſis of the King to do it for me, after having granted me one, he repented preſently, and ſent me word, That if I would let him ſee my Treatiſe as it was, he would read it over, and that otherwiſe he would never trouble himſelf with it; ſo I was obliged to carry it to him as it was, having firſt dated it, and put my name to it; it bore date the 20th. of *Auguſt*. When I delivered it to him, I was accompanied by a *Portugueſe* Captain, and Seven or Eight more of the ſame Nation: and after having paid the cuſtomary Obeiſances, I began a ſhort ſpeech concerning the occaſion of my coming into *Ethiopia*; but the King interrupted me, and began to talk of other

things, as one prepared to ward off the blows that I had designed to have given him; when I had put my Treatise into his hand, he begun to read in it, but had read but a little way, before he was put into such a passion by it, as made him vomit out the poison he had so long concealed, telling me, I had desired leave to set down the Truths of my own Faith, and to have some Monks to Translate them into *Chaldee*, but instead of that, I had charged those with Errors who had none; he told me further, That that was a work no ways proper for a simple Priest, like me, but was the work of some Great Bishop, or Prelate, like the Pope. I made answer, It was true I was but a mean man, but the things I had set down were nevertheless the Truths of the Gospel, and of the Holy Councils, whom, and not me, I desired his Highness to hear. He told me, I had imposed several things upon them which they never held. I replied, I knew very well that his Highness was in no Error of Faith, but that his Subjects were; and that I had set down nothing but what was true, and what I was ready to demonstrate to him. He said, He was no friend to Disputations, but there was one thing he was certain of, which was that *Ethiopia* had always held the same Faith that it did now, or at least that it had for above a Thousand years; that Disputations were never to be used but with *Heathens*, and that his Faith being thus Ancient, there was no body before me had ever presumed to say it was Erroneous.

To

To this I answered, That God did sometimes for peoples Sins suffer such things, and that his Highness had reason to thank God, for having in his time visited *Ethiopia* with the truth of the Gospel: He said the Catholick Church was divided into four Chairs, and that they had from the beginning been subject to one of them: I repli'd, it was true, but so it was likewise, that all Churches were Anciently subject to the *Roman* Bishop, who was above all the rest, as his Highness was above his Subjects; insomuch that the three other Chairs for having denied obedience to the *Roman*, were all become Schismatical, together with all those who were subject to them; That his Highness if he would be pleased to peruse my Treatise, would therein meet with full Answers to all his Objections, exhorting him to take care not to make himself of that number of People the Prophet speaks of, who would not understand, that they might do well. After a great deal of arguing, I told him that my design in writing that Paper, was to discover how his mind stood disposed towards the Pope, and the Learned Friars which his Brother the King of *Portugal* was about to send to him; for that if he was not willing that they should come, it would be to no purpose for the King to send them so far; I did therefore beseech his Highness to declare whether he intended to submit himself to the Pope as he had promised; he said he had learned Friars enough in his Kingdom, and that it was needless for the King of *Portugal* to trouble himself to send him any more; and as for the Pope, That he had

The Emperor's defence of himself and his Faith.

never yielded him any obedience; that Submission, that was carried to him, by *Gasper de Magalhaens*, being what he had never made, and was either a trick or mistake of the Monk who Translated his Letters to the King of *Portugal*; concluding, That he was resolved never to yield Obedience to any Patriarch, but the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, whom he would always obey, as all his Ancestors had done before him. When I found the King thus absolutely determined, I took my leave of him; who after I was gone, begun to extol me for a mighty Scholar, saying, *He wondered how it was possible for so young a man to have attained to so great a stock of Learning*: I was told likewise that he read my Treatise over, and that after he had once read it, it was seldom out of his Hand, and that he was still shewing it to his Mother, and Brothers, and the Grandees of the Court; and that upon the *Abuna*'s having denounced an Excommunication against all that should read it, the King had sent to him for leave to read it again, and was put into such a Passion, by the *Abuna*'s having deny'd it to him, that he called him *Mahometan*, and *Heretick*, saying, *He would read the* Alcoran *of* Mahomet *himself, and at the same time not give him leave to read a godly Book*; commanding him thereupon since he was their *Abuna*, to answer a Book that was written by a poor Clerk who had no Dignity: To which the *Abuna*'s answer was, *That he did not come into* Ethiopia *to dispute, but to confer holy Orders.*

The

The Court however being divided about this Affair, ſome ſeeming to favour the *Roman*, but moſt, and eſpecially the Queen-Mother, and all her Creatures ſtickling for the *Alexandrian* Faith; the King reſolved to call together ſome of the moſt Learned among his Monks, to have their Opinion in the matter; and in order thereunto he commanded my Treatiſe to be Tranſlated into *Habaſſin*, leaving out thoſe Paſſages he was diſpleaſed with when he firſt looked into it; namely, that where I ſpoke of the Pope St. *Leo*, and of *Dioſcorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, whom they reckon a Saint, as they do *Leo*, to be Excommunicated and Accurſed, and for whom they have ſuch a deteſtation, that they cannot endure ſo much as to have him named, rejecting the Council of *Calcedon* and its Decrees, which they ſay erred in the Faith, in condemning St. *Dioſcorus* as they unjuſtly Stile him: Since which time they have always been ſeparated from the *Roman* Church, having now for 1067 years been involved in the Hereſy of *Sergius*, *Paulus*, and *Pyrhus*, who were all condemned in the Sixth Council of *Conſtantinople*; and in that of *Eutyches* likewiſe, which holds that there is but one nature in Chriſt.

The time being come when I was to receive the King's Anſwer, I ſent to know when I ſhould wait upon him; he ſent me back word, his Father's Embaſſador waited Ten years in *Portugal* before he could be diſpatched. I underſtood by this the King was for entertaining me with delays, on purpoſe to keep me from returning with the Fleet which waited for us, for

for fear leaſt we might diſcover the weakneſs of his Empire to them ; and ſo when I went to have my Conge from him, in order to my returning to *Debora*, he commanded one to tell me, That ſo great a man as I was, and who had come ſo far, was not to be diſmiſſed quickly : Beſides, that I could go no where, where I could do ſo much good, as where I was, in confeſſing the *Portugueſes* ; nevertheleſs if I was reſolved not to remain in *Ethiopia*, he would then deſire me only to wait a month longer for his Anſwer ; and if I did not receive it then, I might look upon my ſelf as diſmiſſed. Preſentiy after this he removed his Camp to a place that was two days journey from the place where it was ; we followed the Camp ; and being in the Field on *Saturday* and *Sunday*, we ſet up an Altar whereon we ſaid *Maſs* on both thoſe days, where I was viſited by three Monks, who deſired to have ſome Diſcourſe with me about Matters of Religion : One of them who was a Scholar, told me, *That all that we did, appeared well to him, excepting that of our not obſerving* Saturday, *and that of our eating Hare and Swine's* Fleſh. Nevertheleſs after this he diſgorged ſeveral Errors in Faith, namely, *That the Souls when they leave the Body cannot preſently behold the Divine Eſſence, but are placed in a Terreſtrial Paradiſe. That the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son, but from the Father only. That the Son as to his Humanity was equal to the Father. That none but* Mahometans *and* Infidels *were damned eternally in Hell.* I returned anſwers to all theſe Errors, and declared the contrary Truths to him, both from Scripture and Reaſon ;

ſon; with which he was ſo fully ſatisfied, that whiſpering me in the Ear, that the two other Monks who were illiterate might not hear him, he ſaid, *What I had told him was the truth, and that he believed it to be ſo in his heart.*

The Month being expired, I went to wait upon the King for his Anſwer, and for leave to return home; he bid *me go in a good hour*; and as for the Fathers the King of *Portugal* deſigned to ſend to him, he ſaid, *He had appointed one to wait at* Matrua *to receive them when they landed, being deſirous to hear what they had to ſay to him.* With this I took my leave of him, and paſſing thorough the Countries where divers of the *Portugueſes* lived, I confeſſed them and their Families, and Married ſeveral of them to their Concubines, having firſt reduced them to our holy Faith. There was one among them who was nearly related to the King. And whereas the Churches of that Countrey, beſides that they belong to Schiſmaticks, have no Altars accommodated to our Service, whereever we went, we carried an Altar with us to celebrate on.

While I was in one of theſe places, I received a Complement from a Prelate of a great Monaſtery of Monks of the Order of St. *Anthony*, and one likewiſe from the Prelate of a Nunnery, which were two Leagues off. This Monaſtery of Monks is one of the biggeſt in *Ethiopia*, it is called *Debra Libanus*, and is of ſuch Credit, that all the Faith of *Ethiopia* depends upon it in a manner; for which reaſon the Prelate thereof is in high Eſteem; I went to give him a Viſit, being attended by all the *Portu-*

Portugueſes of the place, but he happened to be from home; we nevertheleſs took a view of the Monaſtery, which is no ways like ours, neither as to Building, nor as to their way of living; every Monk having his diſtinct Dwelling-Houſe and Land belonging to it, which he cultivates with his own Hands; ſo that the *Habaſſin* Monaſteries look like Villages, the Monks having their Houſes on one ſide of the Street, and the Nuns theirs on the other; but not being kept aſunder, the Nuns are frequently troubled with Great Bellies.

No mention of *Rodriguez* having ſeen the old Patriarch, tho his chief buſineſs in *Ethiopia* was to fetch him from thence, if he found him alive.

Theſe Monks are neither of the Order of St. *Francis*, nor St. *Auſtin*, but were founded by one *Tecla Haymanot*, that is, *The Plant of the Faith*, who was of the Order of St. *Anthony*. This *Haymanot* is a great Saint among them, and is ſaid to have killed a prodigious Serpent that was worſhipped by the *Heathens* as a God, whom he converted by that means to the Faith that is ſtill taught in *Ethiopia*.

Thus much of *Rodriguez*'s Relation the Jeſuits have thought fit to make publick; in which, notwithſtanding there is not one word of the Patriarch *Bermudes*; yet that does not hinder it from having been *Rodriguez*'s chief if not only buſineſs in *Ethiopia*, to fetch him from thence.

Rodriguez frights the old Patriarch out of his Province, to make room for his Succeſſor.

For in a Letter of that Patriarch's, printed at *Lisbon* in the year 1568, it is ſaid, That Father *Rodriguez* was with him ſeveral days before he went to Court; and that when he returned from thence, he came to him again in a moſt deſperate fright, pretending he had narrowly eſcaped having been murthered

thered, for having asserted the *Roman* Doctrines; adding, That it was a madness for any one to think of reducing *Ethiopia* to the *Roman* Church, till the Heat they were in at present against it, was over.

Now what can be the meaning of the Jesuits having so industriously suppressed all this; *Rodriguez*'s Relation, as they have printed it, beginning immediately after his having left the Patriarch, and breaking off abruptly just before he returned to him again; but that they were not willing that the world should know that the first Prelate of their Order was an Usurper, and that they were forc'd to make use of art, to vacate a Province for him; which, as it was no good beginning, so their *Ethiopick* Missions, as we shall see hereafter, succeeded accordingly. Besides, what other design could *Rodriguez* have in pretending to return to the Patriarch in such a mortal fright, as if he had narrowly escaped having been murthered for defending the *Roman* Church, which according to his own relation was false; and in representing the Reduction of *Ethiopia* to him as a thing not to be thought of? but only to fright him away, which it did. For by that means *Rodriguez* carried him with him to *Goa*, where he lodged him in the Jesuits College; a Civility, that Order seldom or never pays to any Foreigner that they have not some design upon; where after having kept him a Year, they embarked him for *Lisbon*, not taking any notice of his ever having seen or spoke with his Successor, notwithstanding they were for some Months together

The first Prelate of the Jesuits Order was an Usurper.

The old Patriarch was lodged at the Jesuits College in *Goa*.

gether in the same College. But the poor old Patriarch, the Jesuits know best by what accident, was dropt in the Voyage, in the solitary Island of St. *Helena*; where after having done Penance a Year, which was long enough, any one would have thought, to have sent such an old man into the next world, he met with an opportunity of proceeding on his Voyage, and in the year 1558, arrived safe at *Lisbon*, where he lived some years after, never resigning his Patriarchate, but with his last breath.

Sent home and dropt in the Island of St. *Helena*.

Tellez the Jesuit apprehending that this Blot of their first Prelate's having been an Usurper, might at some time or other come to be hit, has endeavoured to cover it, by affirming that *Bermudes* was never Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, but of *Alexandria*; for which he quotes both a Treatise of his own, and his Tombstone in the Church of St. *Sebastian Pedreiro* in *Lisbon*, in both which, saith *Tellez*, he is stiled Patriarch of *Alexandria*: But if this be not to cut a knot that he is not able to untye, nothing is so; for besides that all the Historians of his time speak of him still as Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, all of them, the Jesuits not excepted, agreeing that the Pope gave *Bermudes* no new Orders or Title, but only confirm'd those that had been conferr'd on him by the *Abuna* and Emperor of *Ethiopia*; who it is certain did never pretend to make a Patriarch of *Alexandria*. It is a Jest for any one to think that the Pope would bestow the second Title in the Church upon an obscure Itinerant, and who was ordained *per saltum* by a single *Ethiopian* Bishop. As

As to *Tellez*'s two Authorities for *Bermudes* having been Patriarch of *Alexandria*, all that can be ſaid to them is, That if there be any ſuch things, they muſt have been foiſted into thoſe Monuments, by thoſe who were concerned to have him paſs for Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and not of *Ethiopia*: Tho by the way, it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Tellez*, who lived moſt of his time within a Mile of the Church of St. *Sebaſtian Pedreira*, ſhould not quote that Tombſtone upon his own knowledge, but upon the Authority of a Book. Farthermore, ſuppoſing *Bermudes* to have had the Title of *Alexandria* given him by the Pope, that does not hinder but that he might have been *Abuna* of *Ethiopia* too; it being the Pope's common practice to confer the *Oriental* Patriarchates upon Prelates that are poſſeſſed of other great Biſhopricks: So Cardinal *Boniface* was Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; and Cardinal *Cajetanus* was Archbiſhop of *Capua*, and Patriarch of *Antioch*: And I do not believe there is one Preſident for the Popes having ever conferred any of thoſe high Titles upon any Prelate that had not another Biſhoprick.

Finally, *Pius* the IVth, during the time *Bermudes* was Patriarch, treated with *Gabriel* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, about his Submiſſion to him as Patriarch of that See: The Hiſtory of which Treaty, as not being foreign to my purpoſe, I ſhall here ſet down.

As the Popes when they are in any ſtraits, which they do always reckon themſelves to be

be in while there is any thing that looks like a General Council sitting, are, after the example of *Eugenius* the IVth. for making a noise with *Eastern* Submissions to them; which is done on purpose to make the *Latin* Prelates ashamed to go about to lessen a Power to which Foreign Churches and Patriarchs are for yielding Obedience: Accordingly, *Pius* the IVth, in the year 1561, finding a Session of the Council of *Trent* could not be put off much longer, dispatched a couple of Jesuits, whose names were *Rodriguez* and *Elianus*, with Bills for a considerable Sum of Money to *Grand Cairo*, there to treat with *Gabriel* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, about his submitting himself and his Church to the *Roman* See.

The Pope endeavours to hire the Patriarch of *Alexandria* to submit himself and his Church to him.

Gabriel till he had received all the Money of the *Venetian* Consul, entertained the *Jesuits* with promises; but after he had fingered all that he was to expect, he told them plainly, when they urged him to make his solemn Submission, and to deliver them an Instrument thereof to carry to the Pope, That he would never do it, nor in the least violate the Establishment of the Council of *Calcedon*, which made all the Patriarchs Independent one of another, and the Heads of their respective Churches; and that the Patriarch of *Rome* if he should fall into any Errors was no less than the other Patriarchs to be judged by his Brethren. The *Jesuits*, upon the Patriarch having changed his Note thus, alledged, *That he had already in a manner submitted himself to the* Roman *See, by having in his Letters both to the present Pope, and to* Paul *the* IVth. *stiled them the Pastors*

Compliments strained to promises.

Paſtor of Paſtors, and Father of Fathers, and Head of the whole Church: To which he reply'd, *That he gave the Pope thoſe Titles only in* Civility, *and that it was not fair to ſtrain Complements that paſs betwixt friends, to ſuch purpoſes: and if there was any thing in the Letters he ſent to the Pope, that was not agreeable with the Doctrine of the Church, that it was not to be laid at his door, but at* Abraham *the bearer's, who to make his Court the better at* Rome, *had foiſted ſeveral things into thoſe Letters which he knew would be grateful to the Pope.* *Abraham*, who was preſent when the Patriarch made this Declaration, did not deny his having done it, but ſmiling, told the *Jeſuits*, *That he believed it was lawful on ſeveral occaſions to diſſemble as much as that came to, that being no more than what St.* Paul *himſelf had done, who declared*, That he became all things to all men. He added further, That he had a Book wherein it was ſaid, *That St.* Paul *when he was among the Heathens did act as a Heathen; and to ingratiate himſelf with them the more, in order to their Converſion at laſt, did worſhip their Idols.* But notwithſtanding *Pius* was thus Defeated as to this Patriarchal Submiſſion, he had a Sham-one of a Mock-Patriarch of *Babylon* ready for the Council of *Trent* againſt it Sate next Year.

The *Alexandrian* after having taken the Pope's Money, denies to ſubmit himſelf to him.

A trick of an *Alexandrian* Monk.

Rodriguez as he was returning to the *Indies*, had the following Account ſent him by one *Alfonſo de Franca*, a *Portugueſe* Captain that belonged to the Court, of a Conference he had with the Emperor about Religion.

His Highneſs, ſaith *Franca, intended to have caught me in the ſame trap he had ſet for your Reverence; and having drawn his water over great flats to his Mill, he charged me before all the* Portugueſes, *and the whole Court, with having called him and* Dioſcorus, *Hereticks*; I made anſwer, *That our Sacred Writings of the holy Councils, and our other Hiſtories of the Church for* 1070 *years, had ſtill called them ſo, and that the* Eaſtern *Churches that were ſeparated from the* Roman *did the ſame*: To this he repli'd, *That tho our Hiſtory might call them ſo, yet God knew what his own Scriptures ſaid of them. I rejoined, I was ſenſible that the* Habaſſins *did look upon us as* Neſtorian *Hereticks, pretending that we hold, that there are Two Perſons in Chriſt, which is what I am told to my face every day, and that the Treatiſe your Reverence Preſented to his Highneſs, did not prove the Truth of our Faith, by affirming that it was not credible that ſo many Chriſtian Kings being all united in one Faith and under one Paſtor, ſhould be all in the Wrong, and the Emperor of* Ethiopia *only in the Right*; He Anſwered, *I have hitherto lived in Peace and Amity with all Chriſtian Kings, and that it was I only that endeavoured to bring him to be upon ill terms with them.*

A Conference betwixt the Emperor, and a *Portugueſe* about Religion.

I told him, *the Pope, and my Lord the King of* Portugal, *had ſent me to reveal the ſecret of our Holy Faith to him, which was all that I endeavoured; and for which if his Highneſs was diſpleaſed with me, I had a Religion and a King I would die for ſooner than deny them*: He told me further, *That I had reported among his Subjects, that their* Abuna's *were ſent to them from the* Turks. *I anſwered, that was a great truth, ſince none of them were ever*

conſecrated

consecrated at Rome, *or sent from thence.* He then asked me, *Why, since I was so great a* Romanist, *and a Bigot for my Faith, I had desired to be Baptized in* Ethiopia, *and to receive the Eucharist from them? As to Baptism, I said there was no such thing, I having been Baptized when I was but Eight days old; but as to the Eucharist, it was true, that being once dangerously sick, I had desired it, which was a thing I thought I might lawfully do, in the extream necessity I was in at that time; and that I would do it again if there were the same occasion, and could not have the opportunity of a* Roman *Priest.* He told me, *he would order it not to be given to me; St.* Paul *having said,* there is but one Faith and one Baptism: To that I repli'd, *If St.* Paul *saith so, why is your Highness Baptized once a year?* This put him into a great Passion; and having given me a great many hard words, he put his Hand to his Sword; which I having observed, I said to him, Sir, *I would not have your Highness defer punishing me; for, for this Truth of the good Jesus, I do not fear all the Kings of the Earth, nor none but him, whom we desire not to chasten us in his wrath: but for you, I would have you to chasten me in your anger; for as there is nothing so excellent as the Soul, so I regard nothing that is not Infinite. I spoke all this to him with an extraordinary courage; so that seeing me much more resolute than he had ever done at any time before, he went away and left me in the Field; so that by what I can perceive by him, he will sooner put himself under the* Turks, *and so will his whole people too, who are all* Dioscoreans, *as are the* Alexandrians, *than yield obedieace to the Holy Pope.*

I did not care to acquaint you with this sooner, for fear of having discouraged your Reverence from using your utmost diligence in your Office.

But while things were in this Posture in *Ethiopia*, at *Rome* and *Lisbon* they still continued to reckon it as good as reduced to the *Roman* Obedience; and that there was nothing wanting to perfect it but the new Patriarch's Presence among them; who on the 15th of *March* 1556 set Sail from *Lisbon* upon the Ship called the *Graca*, as Bishop *Andrew* did at the same time upon the St. *Vincent*, and after a Tempestuous Voyage they arrived at *Goa* on the 13th of *September* of the same Year.

The new Patriarch arrives at *Goa*.

It cannot be expressed how much the Patriarch was troubled at the News of the present Posture of Affairs in *Ethiopia*, which were brought by *Rodriguez* to *Goa* a few days before he landed, it being a terrible disappointment to him, to find that a Work which he had thought would have done it self, was next to impossible.

The Patriarch and Bishop, with all their Companions, were lodged in the Jesuits College, where they found the old Patriarch, but not a word of what passed betwixt them, or of their having ever so much as seen one another, tho' undoubtedly they did, having been several Months together in the same House. The new Patriarch having consecrated *Melchior* Elect of *Nice*, they begun to consult with the Viceroy what course they were to

to take; the Patriarch notwithstanding *Rodriguez* melancholy Account of things, is said to have been extreamly zealous to have gone to his Province, saying, *He should either be able to effect there what he was sent to do, or should have the Honour of dying a Martyr.* Nevertheless, after several Consultations had been held about it, it was at last resolved, That the *Spaniard*, Bishop *Andrew*, should be first sent thither with some of the Fathers of the Mission; but that the Patriarch, and the *Portuguese* Bishop, should remain at *Goa* till things were more promising in *Ethiopia* than at present they were, of which, if it ever happened, Bishop *Andrew* was to send them intelligence.

He remains there, and sends his *Spanish* Coadjutor into *Ethiopia*, with a promise of *Portuguese* Troops to be sent after him.

In pursuance of this Resolution, Bishop *Andrew* embarked in *February*, and towards the latter end of *March* landed at *Arkiko*, where having made no stay, he went on with a good Train of *Portuguese* to *Deboraa*, and was there received by *Bahurnagays*, the Prince of the Country, with great kindness.

The Bishop so soon as he came to *Debora*, writ the following Letter to the Emperor.

The Coadjutor's Letter to the Emperor.

THE *Heavenly Father, with his Son Consubstantial and Eternal, and the Spirit the Comforter, one only God and Three Persons, be always with your Highness, with an abundance of his Divine Graces, that so you may in all things know and follow his most Holy Will, according to what our Lord Christ hath said in St.* John's *Gospel*, My food is to do the will of him that sent me; *teaching us likewise in St.* Matthew's *Gospel* to pray, Thy will be done. *The Catholick*

and Illustrious Don John, *the Third King of* Portugal, *after he had prevailed with his Holiness to send a Patriarch with some Associates into* Ethiopia, *being thereunto moved by no worldly Interest, but purely by a Zeal for God, and the Love he has for your Highness, has been at a vast Charge (the particulars whereof his Highness might be acquainted with, if he pleased) to convey them to the* Indies, *where the Patriarch now remains, waiting your Highness's Pleasure, that when he comes, he may serve Christ here the more effectually. It was nevertheless thought expedient, that I and some of the Fathers of the Society should be sent before, the Patriarch having before I left* Goa, *invested me with full Authority, as his Coadjutor, which I was ordained to by his Holiness; and accordingly we are come as far as* Deboraa, *where we have been kindly entertained by* Bahurnagays, *and have met with very good Company, namely,* Francis Jacome, *and divers other* Portugueses. *Our business here is to serve God, and your Highness, whose Royal Person and Estate may God preserve for his greater Service and Honour.* Amen.

Deboraa the 26th of *March*, 1557.

He goes to Court.

The Coadjutor after having staid three Weeks at *Deboraa*, intriguing with *Bahurnagays* about the Troops the Viceroy had promised to send after him, begun his Journey to Court, being waited upon all the way by that Prince, and being come within a days Journey of the Camp, he was commanded to stop till he received further Orders, where having waited two days, he received Orders to advance, and

and being come within Cannon-shot of the Camp, was commanded to pitch his Tent there, where having staid a Day and a Night, about Noon a great Troop of the Princes of the Blood, and chief Nobility, all well-mounted and equipped, came to wait on him to his Audience, two of which having alighted, went into the Coadjutor's Tent, and having complemented him in the Name of the Emperor, told him, *His Highness was ready to give him a publick Audience, and had sent the splendid Body of Men he saw, to wait upon him to it.* The Coadjutor having returned their Complement, he robed himself in his Pontificalibus, and mounted a Horse that had been sent to him by the Emperor, and (besides the *Habassins*, who paid their Respects to him one by one) he advanced towards the Royal Tent, attended with a numerous Train of *Portuguese*, who to do their Religion and their Country the greater Honour, had come from all parts of *Ethiopia* to be present at this Solemnity.

The Emperor having, contrary to Custom, ordered the Coadjutor, with his whole Train, to ride into the first Court of the Palace, had placed himself with his Mother in a Window behind Curtains, to see the Cavalcade; and after having waited a while in the first Court, they were all commanded to alight, and to advance to the second, where they were not kept long before they were conducted into the Tent, betwixt a Guard of Old Men of the first Quality, who with Batoons in their Hands, stood all in good order, paying their Respects to the Coadjutor as he passed by them with a pro-

He is received with great Ceremony.

found Reverence and Silence; from the Anti-chamber, where he did not wait long, he was introduced into the Emperor's Presence by two of the Principal Ministers, whereof his Friend *Bahurnagays* was one; and having paid the customary Obeisances, the Emperor received him with extraordinary Civility, asking him several Questions about the King of *Portugal*, and the present State of his Affairs; as also concerning himself, and his Voyages, and Journeys: So soon as the Emperor gave over asking him Questions, the Coadjutor presented the Pope's, *Ignatius*, and the King's Letters to him, which the Emperor opened and looked into immediately; but he had not read far, before the change that was observed in his Countenance, did clearly discover that he was not at all satisfied with their Contents, and particularly with their supposing him *to be a Member of the Roman Church*; *a thing*, saith a Jesuit who was present at the Ceremony, *as far from his thoughts, as* Rome *is from* Ethiopia; nevertheless, being a Wise and Well-bred Prince, and if they would have let him alone with his Religion, a great Friend to the *Portugueses*, he so far dissembled his Resentments, as to dismiss the Coadjutor with great demonstrations of Kindness, granting him leave to come to him as often as he had any business with him.

He urges the Emperor to submit himself to the Pope.

The Coadjutor at all his following *Audiences*, was at the Emperor continually to *submit himself and his Kingdoms to the Pope*, assuring him, though he would not be so civil as to believe him, That the Pope was Christ's Vicar,

Vicar, and St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor upon Earth, and that there was no Salvation for any one out of his Obedience.

The Anſwer the Emperor returned ſtill to all the Coadjutor's paſſionate aſſurances was, *That the* Ethiopick *Church had from the beginning been ſubject to the Chair of St.* Mark *at* Alexandria, *and that he was ſo fully ſatisfied of the Juſtice of that Obedience, that nothing in the world ſhould ever be able to make him throw it off*; and whereas he had been pleaſed to charge the *Ethiopick* Church with holding divers Errors in Faith, if he would be at the pains to read over a Confeſſion of Faith which he had Publiſhed lately, he would ſee how unjuſt that Charge of *Hereſy* was, there being nothing in that Confeſſion that was not taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

The Emperor declares his reſolution never to do it.

The Emperor Claudius's *Confeſſion of Faith.*

In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, One God.

THIS is my Faith, and the Faith of my Fathers the Kings of Iſrael, *and the Faith of my Flock, which is within the bounds of my Empire.*

The Emperor's Confeſſion of Faith.

We Believe in One God, and in his only Son Jeſus Chriſt, who is his Word, Power, Council, Wiſdom, and who was with him before the World was Created; and who in the laſt days viſited us, and without leaving the Throne of his Divinity, was

was made Man by the Holy Ghoſt, in the womb of the Virgin Mary; *and who, when he was Thirty years of Age, was Baptized in* Jordan; *and being a perfect Man, was in the days of* Pontius Pilate *Crucified, and was Dead and Buried, and Roſe again the Third Day; and on the Fortieth day after his Reſurrection, did Aſcend with Glory into the Heavens; where he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, and ſhall come again in Glory to Judge both the Quick and the Dead, whoſe Kingdom ſhall have no End.*

We Believe alſo in the Holy Ghoſt, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father. We Believe one Baptiſm for the Remiſſion of Sins, and do hope for the Reſurrection of the Dead to the Life to come, Which is Everlaſting. Amen.

We do walk in the plain and true way, declining neither to the right nor to the left from the Doctrine of our Fathers, the Twelve Apoſtles, and of Paul *the fountain of Wiſdom, and of the Seventy two Diſciples, and of the Three hundred and eighteen Orthodox Aſſembled at* Nice, *and of the Hundred and fifty at* Conſtantinople, *and of the Hundred at* Epheſus.

Thus I Profeſs, and thus I Teach, I *Claudius* Emperor of *Ethiopia*, my Royal Name being *Atznaf Saghed*, the Son of *Uuanag Saghed*, the Son of *Naod.*

As to our obſerving the day of the old Sabbath, we do not keep it after the manner of the Jews, *who Crucified Chriſt, ſaying,* His Blood be upon us and our Children: *For whereas the* Jews *do neither*

neither draw water, nor light a fire, nor boyl meat, nor bake bread, nor go from one house to another on that day: We do administer the holy Supper thereon; and, according to the Command of the Apostles in their Book of Doctrines, do keep the Love-Feasts. Neither do we observe it after the same manner as we do the Sabbath of the First day, which is a new day, and of which David *said,* This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoyce and be glad therein; *For on this day our Lord Jesus Christ rose from the Dead, the Holy Ghost likewise descended on this day upon the Apostles in the Parlour of* Sion; *on this day Christ was also conceived in the womb of the Holy and perpetual Virgin* Mary, *and will come thereon to Reward the Righteous, and to Punish Sinners.*

Neither do we Circumcise after the manner of the Jews; Paul *the fountain of Wisdom having told us,* That to be circumcised profiteth nothing, nor to be uncircumcised, but a new creation, which is Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ: *And who told the* Corinthians, That he that had received circumcision was not to be uncircumcised; *all the Books of St.* Paul's *Doctrine concerning Circumcision and Uncircumcision being in our hands: So that Circumcision is no otherwise in use among us, than as the Custom of a Countrey, as Incision in the Face is in some parts of* Ethiopia *and* Nubia, *and the Boring of the Ears in* India; *what we do therein being in compliance with a human Custom, and not in Obedience to the* Mosaical *Law.*

And as to Swines Flesh, we do not abstain from that neither after the manner of the Jews, *nor in Obedience*

Obedience to the Law of Moſes; *neither do we abominate thoſe, or reckon them to be unclean that do eat it, as we do not force thoſe to eat it that have a mind to abſtain from it; which is according to what our Father* Paul *writ to the* Romans, *ſaying,* He that eateth, let him not deſpiſe him that eateth not, for the Lord accepts both; for the kingdom of God conſiſts not in meat and drink: *and in another place he ſaith,* Every thing is clean to the clean, but it is evil for a man to eat with offence. *It is ſaid likewiſe in* Matthew's *Goſpel, That* nothing defileth a man but what comes out of his Mouth, all that goes into the Belly being thrown into the draught. *This teacheth us, That all Fleſh is clean, and deſtroyeth the whole Fabrick of the* Jewiſh *Errors.*

Wherefore my Religion, and the Religion of my Prieſts and Doctors who teach by my Command within the bounds of my Empire, is ſuch as declineth neither to the right nor to the left, from the paths of the Goſpel, and the Doctrine of Paul.

In the Book called Tarick, *it is written, That the Emperor* Conſtantine *commanded all the* Jews *to eat Swines fleſh on the day of our Lord's Reſurrection; whereas with us people are at their liberty to abſtain from it or any other ſort of fleſh; there being ſome that love the fleſh of Fiſh, others of Hens, and ſome abſtain from Mutton, every one as to ſuch things following his own appetite; there being no Law nor Canon of the New Teſtament concerning eating the fleſh of Terreſtrial Creatures;* all things, *according to St.* Paul, being clean to the clean; *and he that believeth may if he pleaſe*

eat

eat all things. This is what I have writ, that you might know the Truth of my Religion.

Written at Damot *on the* 23d. *of in the Year* 1555.

The Emperor finding that no declarations he could make of his Resolution never to forsake the Religion of his Countrey, were able to make the Coadjutor give over teizing him, for quietness sake told him one day, *That notwithstanding he was fully satisfied with the Religion of his Ancestors in every point, nevertheless since a Person of his Character and Authority had come so far to persuade him to submit himself to the Pope, he was willing to lay that whole matter before his Council, that he might have their Opinion about it.*

The Emperor offers to lay the Debates about Religion before his Council.

The Coadjutor being sensible that this was only to put him off with delays, and at last to lay the blame of his not turning *Roman*-Catholick on his Councellors, whom, and especially the Queen-Mother, and the Officers of her Court, he knew to be mortal Enemies to Popery, he endeavoured to divert him from a course from which he expected no good, by the following Letter.

To the High and Powerful Emperor.

The Coadjutor endeavours to divert him from that course by the following Letter.

SUch as are in Office have two ways of speaking, the one is as in their own Person, and the other as in the Post they are in. So that tho as to what concerns their own Persons, they ought to be humble and patient when they are contradicted, as our

our Lord himself was when he was upon earth both in his Life and Death; nevertheless as to what concerns their Office and Embassy, they must speak the truth, without respect of persons, as Christ did when he answered the President in a matter wherein his Father's Honour was concerned. What I have to tell your Highness as a Publick Person, is to lay before you the business that brought me into Ethiopia; *with which notwithstanding your Highness has been already acquainted both by Letter and by other ways, I do now tell you again, That I come from* Rome, *being sent by the Pope to be Coadjutor to the Patriarch who is now in the* Indies, *with whose Authority I am invested; that, as our case is at present, being what his Holiness was pleased to bestow upon me, as appears from a Bull that I have brought with me, and which your Highness may see when you please; I do intend therefore at present to give an account of my having been sent hither by the Pope, and of what moved his Holiness to send a Patriarch, with two Episcopal Coadjutors, and several Jesuits of great Learning and Piety, into* Ethiopia. *When the Pope sends a Legat or Patriarch to any Kingdom, he does not pretend thereby to make it his own, neither can he sell such Dignities, for that would be Simony; but he is always moved thereunto merely by the prospect of doing good to their Souls, as Christ hath commanded him in the Gospel, bidding him* Feed his Sheep: *And it was thus in our present case, wherein the Pope, without having any temporal view, but purely for the service of Christ, and the spiritual good of these Kingdoms, has done your Highness this Favour, being thereunto moved, both by the great love he hath for your*

your Highneſs, and for all Chriſtian Kings, who are many in number, and are all much concerned for your Highneſs, and the Grandeur of your State, having a great affection for you, and by the good deſires and diſpoſition he was informed were in this Empire, and which he had a mind to improve. Now your Highneſs is to take notice, that theſe motives are things of great moment, and no ſlight matters betwixt ſuch Eminent Perſons. Your Father writ a Letter to the Pope, a Copy whereof I my ſelf have ſeen at Rome, *wherein he did acknowledge his Holineſs to be Chriſt's Vicar, deſiring him to ſend him ſome of his Learned Men: And beſides, the King of* Portugal, *who is a Prince of great Truth, ſaid in my hearing, That your Highneſs had writ to him, that your Father had commanded you never to ſuffer any* Abuna *or Patriarch to come into* Ethiopia, *but who ſhould be ſent from* Rome; *and that he was furthermore informed from hence, That your Highneſs had publickly yielded Obedience to the Pope, which, notwithſtanding it was done during the War, yet after the War was over,* Dom John Bermudes continued Patriarch here for three years, your Highneſs having beſtowed all the Lands belonging to that Dignity upon him. *For which reaſon, notwithſtanding his Holineſs ſhould have demanded ſomething of you, conſidering his good intentions, and what he hath done in order to the ſending of this Miſſion, together with the Trouble and Dangers whereunto we have expoſed our Perſons, your Highneſs would have had no cauſe to have been diſpleaſed with him upon that account, how much leſs then ought you to be ſo, when he deſires nothing from you, and hath without any thing of ſelf-intereſt ſent into*

He acknowledges *Bermudes* to have been Patriarch of *Ethiopia.*

into your Empire the largeſt Powers of Spiritual Graces, that, ſo far as I know, were ever ſent before into any Chriſtian Countrey; and has furthermore in his Bulls called your Highneſs, My Beloved Son; *giving you alſo the Title of,* The Illuſtrious Emperor of *Ethiopia.*

Your Highneſs muſt therefore let me have your Anſwer to what I have deſired of you in his Holineſs's Name, that I may take my meaſures accordingly: And in caſe your Highneſs has any Scruples about Matters of Faith, you would then do well to call a Convocation of your Learned Men, whoſe Objections I ſhall endeavour to anſwer in the Name of Chriſt; for ſince the Faith of Chriſt is but one, as St. Paul *ſaith in the* 4th. *Chapter to the* Epheſians, one God, one Faith, one Baptiſm, *why ſhould there be any differences among Chriſtians? And why ſhould they not all agree in all Matters of Faith, ſo as to hold nothing that is contrary to the Goſpel of Chriſt? And if there is any thing wherein you think we are miſtaken, and will offer any reaſon for it either out of the Goſpel, or the General Councils of the Church, we ſhall be ready to follow the Truth; as on the other ſide, if you ſhould be made ſenſible of our being in no Error, you ought then together with us to follow the Truth of the Faith, according to what St.* Paul *ſaith in his firſt Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, See that you all ſay the ſame things, that ſo there may be no Schiſms, and not to follow the cuſtoms of your forefathers, when they are contrary to the Truth. *So when the Doctrine of Truth was preached by our Lord Chriſt to the* Gentiles *and* Pagans, *which he converted, ought not they to have received his Doctrines, alledging*

ledging they were contrary to the Customs of their Ancestors, and so have never believed in Christ, to their utter Perdition; neither is the known Truth to be forsaken for fear or shame of the World; for our Lord Christ hath said, He that is ashamed of me, and of my words, *&c.* David *likewise in the 94th* Psalm *saith,* To day, if you will hear his voice, *&c. Your Highness would do well, therefore, to consider how much it imports you to take good Advice in an Affair of so high a nature, in which seeing all your People do depend upon you, our Lord will call you to a strict Account for their Souls. Consider how dangerous a thing evil Councellors are, as appears from the Case of* Rehoboam; *and* Jacob *speaking of such, said of* Simeon *and* Judah, *they were Vessels of Iniquity,* my Soul enter not into their councils; *and* David, *They have taken evil Council against his People. And* Isaiah *saith,* The wise counsellers of *Pharoah* have given foolish counsel; *for which reason,* Solomon *in the 6th. of* Ecclesiasticus *saith,* Be in peace with mrny: nevertheless have but one counseller of a thousand. *And in the first* Psalm, David *saith,* Blessed is the man that entereth not into the counsel of the wicked: *furthermore Parents and Relations are seldom good Counsellers in Spiritual Matters. As our Lord Christ told St.* Peter *in the 10th. of St.* Matthew, Flesh and blood, *saith he,* hath not revealed this unto thee. *And the Prophet* Micah *in the 9th. Chapter saith,* A man's enemies are those of his own house. *And in the 10th of St.* Matthew, *Christ saith,* Think not that I came to

bring peace on the earth: I tell you nay, but a ſword; for I came to ſet a man at variance with his Father, and the Daughter with the Mother, and the Daughter-in-law with the Mother-in-law; and a man's enemies ſhall be thoſe of his own houſe; for he that loveth Father or Mother more than me, is not worthy of me. *And in the 12th. of St.* Luke, *he ſaith again,* Think you that I came to bring peace upon the earth? *And in the 14th. Chapter of the ſame Goſpel, he ſaith,* If any man come to me, and hate not Father and Mother, *&c. From all which we may learn, That Parents and Relations are commonly Spiritual Enemies. Chriſt himſelf having ſaid,* A man's enemies are thoſe of his own houſe, *and that he came to divide the one from the other,* and that whoſoever hateth not Father and Mother in ſuch caſes, cannot be his Diſciple. *And what he taught others as to this matter, he confirmed by his own Example, when without asking his Holy Mothers advice, who undoubtedly would never have counſelled him to have done any thing that was amiſs; he remained diſputing in the Temple; and underſtanding his Mother had been in great Pain for him; and had been ſeeking after him, he made her anſwer, when ſhe told him of it,* Wiſt you not that I muſt be about my Father's buſineſs; *intimating to us by this Carriage, That in Matters appertaining to God, we are not bound to adviſe with our Friends and Parents, and eſpecially when they endeavour to hinder us from doing what is good; for in ſuch caſes he commands us to hate them. May our Lord give your Highneſs*

good

good and true Counsel in all things, and Grace always do his Will, and hereafter to enjoy his Holy Glory. Amen.

The 22d. of *June*, in the Year 1557.

Now were ever a poor Empress, and Council of State libelled so out of Scripture, or pelted out of a Concordance before? Or was the folly of a Peoples being obliged to be of a Religion, because it was the Religion of their Ancestors for several Ages, ever more severely exposed? Besides, there is one thing remarkable in this Letter, which is the Bishop's affirming positively, That *Bermudes* was, and did act for some years as Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, and as such had the Lands belonging to that Dignity setled upon him by the Emperor.

Several Conferences about Religion.

After this Letter, the Emperor and the Bishop had divers Conferences about Religion, but without any effect, the Emperor growing daily more zealous for his Ancient Faith, and averse to that of *Rome*. The Bishop being piqued with this ill success, challenged all the Learning of *Ethiopia* to a publick Disputation; which being accepted, the Emperor himself bore a great part in it, defending the *Habassin* Faith with that Dexterity and Learning, that the Jesuits themselves confess he did sometimes put the Bishop hard to it to answer him. The *Habassins* were so encouraged by having such a Champion on their side, that the Bishop was never denied a publick Disputation when he desired it; and tho he is said by his

Brethren to have ſtill come off victorious, the *Habaſſins* did always triumph, the Biſhop being laughed at by them as the moſt baffled Man that ever pretended to weild an Argument.

The Biſhop growing weary of diſputing, betook himſelf to his Pen again; and having Compoſed a Treatiſe againſt all the *Habaſſin* Errors, he Preſented it to the Emperor, conjuring him to read it without Prejudice. The Emperor promiſed to do ſo, but was ſo far from being converted by it, that if it were poſſible he was ſetled in his Ancient Faith thereby more than he was before; Writing a Book not only in Anſwer to that of the Biſhop's, but one alſo in Defence of his own Church; declaring in them both, *that he had ſeen nor heard nothing to convince him, that as a Chriſtian he was bound to ſubmit himſelf and his Empire to the Pope.*

The Emperor anſwers the Coadjutor's Book; and writes one in defence of his own Faith.

The Biſhop finding his Writings were as Unſucceſsful as his Conferences and Diſputations, left the Court in Wrath, retiring to a place called *Decome*, where he had not been long before he thundred out the following Excommunication.

Andrewd'

Andrewd' Oriedo, *by the Grace of God, and the Apoſtolical See, Biſhop of* Hieropolis, *and Coadjutor to the moſt Reverend Father in Chriſt and Lord,* John Nunes Baretto, *Patriarch of* Ethiopia.

The Coadjutor thunders out an Excommunication.

AS it is profitable to Publiſh and Praiſe ſuch things as are Good, on purpoſe to ingage People to follow them; ſo it is likewiſe neceſſary to Declare and Cenſure publick Evils, that People may avoid them. Wherefore, ſince the People of Ethiopia, *notwithſtanding their having had all the Articles of the* Roman *Faith preached to them in ſuch a manner, that all that were diſpoſed to learn it, cannot but be thorowly acquainted therewith, do with great Obſtinacy continue to deny Obedience thereunto, and not only ſo, but did on the* Ogge *of the laſt Year, cauſe a Proclamation to be made at the Market-Croſs, prohibiting all Perſons upon pain of Death to go into any of our Churches, adhering ſtill to the Cuſtoms of their Fore-fathers, and that as appears to us not out of Ignorance, for that cannot be, conſidering how many things they hold that are notoriouſly Evil, and contrary to the Service of our Lord.*

We do therefore define, and by Sentence declare, That all the People of Ethiopia, *Great and Small, Learned and Unlearned, do deny to yield that Obedience to the Holy* Roman *Church which they and all other Churches are in Duty bound to yield, the* Roman *Church being the Head of all Churches, and the Pope of* Rome *the Father, Paſtor, and Superior of all Chriſtians. They do likewiſe on di-*

vers Occaſions repeat Baptiſm, which is contrary to the Faith. And do alſo publickly obſerve Saturday, *which they did not formerly in* Ethiopia. *And do Circumciſe themſelves, and their Slaves, as alſo all the Converts they do make at any time to Chriſtianity, forcing many of them to ſubmit to it. They alſo hold it to be a Sin to eat Hare or Swines Fleſh, or any of the Meats prohibited by the* Moſaical *Law, which Law was aboliſhed by the Death of Chriſt, and is contrary to what he has commanded in his Goſpel. Several among them holding it likewiſe to be a Sin to go into a Church on the day on which they have known their Wives, which is no where prohibited by Chriſt or his Church. Their Learned Men do alſo with great Zeal maintain, That there is but one Nature, and one Operation in Chriſt, and that Chriſt's Humanity is equal with his Divinity, which is contrary to the Faith of the Goſpel; and the Synods which do teach, That Chriſt hath two Natures, and two Operations, and two Wills in one Perſon, and that he is equal to the Father as to his Divinity, but inferior to him as to his Humanity.*

They do alſo keep a Feſtivity to Dioſcorus, *the Defender of the Heretick* Eutyches, *who together with* Eutyches *ſtands condemned by the Church; for which reaſon* Dioſcorus *ought not to be eſteemed a Saint in* Ethiopia; *holding divers other things that are contrary to the* Roman *Faith, which ought not to be, being there is but one Faith, which is that of the* Roman *Church, which by reaſon of Chriſt's promiſe to her can never err. We do therefore admoniſh all our Spiritual Sons to ſeparate themſelves from theſe, and all other Errors*

of

of Ethiopia, *&c. ſo as not to fall into any of them. And as for the* Ethiopians, *we do remit them to the Judgment of the Church, and of the Prelates thereof, to Puniſh them in their Perſons or Eſtates, publickly or privately, or to uſe mercy with them in whole or in part, as they ſhall think fit; and eſpecially if they ſhould be hereafter Converted; which God in his Mercy give them Grace to be.*

Made at *Decome* in *Ethiopia*, upon the 2d. of *February*, 1559. *Gancalo Cardozo* Notary Apoſtolick; *Andrew* Biſhop of *Hieropolis.*

This was publiſhed in our Church of *Decome* on the 2d. of *February* 1559. Whatever eaſe the publication of this Cenſure might give the Coadjutor's mind, which was ſtrangely exulcerated by the Triumphs of the *Habaſſins*, it is certain it had no more effect upon the Emperor, than his Conferences and Books had had; *Who the more he knew of Popery and its ways, the worſe he liked it.*

But while *Claudius* his thoughts were wholly employed in Diſputing with, and Writing againſt the Biſhop, and Fathers, *Nur* the Son of *Madi Ali Guaſil*, and the King of *Adel*, having obſerved the preſent weakneſs of the *Habaſſin* Empire, and how its Frontiers lay open, Invaded it with a great Army; and meeting with little or no oppoſition, were got into the bowels of it before *Claudius* ever ſo much as dream'd of an Invaſion; nevertheleſs when the alarm of it came from all quarters, *Claudius* laying aſide his Pen and

Books, called for his Sword, and having ſweeped together a confuſed rabble of an Army, he took the Field, and being come within ſight of the Enemy, was ſo ill adviſed as to give him Battel; in which *Claudius* was not ſo ſucceſsful, as he was ſaid to have been in his *ergoteering* Combats, his Army being totally Routed, and he himſelf Slain fighting Manfully againſt the *Infidels*.

The *Portugueſes*, though angry with *Claudius*, do him the Juſtice to acknowledge that he was a *Prince of admirable natural Parts*, and for an *Habaſſin*, *of very good Learning*; and as he was every way *much a Gentleman*, that he would alſo have been extraordinary kind to the *Portugueſes* that remained in *Ethiopia* for the great Service they had done, had it not been for two things; the one was, that they would never let him alone with his Religion, which he was extreamly Zealous for; and the other was, that under a pretence of introducing the *Roman* Faith into *Ethiopia*, they had a deſign either to make themſelves Maſters of its Sea-ports, or to have put them into the hands of a Creature of their own, as they had done in ſeveral parts of *India*, after they had by ſome plauſible pretence or other got footing in them; and as the cloſe Correſpondence they maintained with *Baburnagays*, the Hereditary Governor of the Provinces on the Sea-Coaſt, was ſufficient to give *Claudius* ſome umbrage of this deſign, ſo if he ever happened to intercept any of the Biſhop's or Father's Letters, he muſt have been abundantly ſatisfied of the truth of it; the ſending

of

of Missionary Troops into *Ethiopia*, without which the Ecclesiastical Missionaries would be able to do nothing there, being, as we shall see hereafter, the burden of all their Letters.

So feeble a thing is Popery to make way for it self into any Countrey, without the assistance of Apostolical Dragoons.

Nur, after having ravaged and plundered the greatest and richest Provinces in *Ethiopia*, returned home laden with Spoils and Honour; but when he came near his Metropolis, instead of making a Triumphant entry, as was expected, he mounted a sorry Mule wretchedly Equipp'd, and rid thereon thorough all the Acclamations of his People; and being asked the reason why he did so, his answer was, *That since it was God alone that won the late Victory, it was but just that he alone should have the whole Glory of it.*

Claudius having left no Sons, was Succeeded by his Brother *Adam*, who had been a Captive several years in *Arabia*, and who from the day he came to the Crown, declared himself an *irreconcilable Enemy to the Church of* Rome, and accordingly as his first act of Government, was *the prohibiting all* Habassins *whatsoever, under severe Punishments, to go into the Latin Church*; so his first act of severity, was the ordering *of a* Habassin *Woman for having turned Papist, to be whipped thorough the streets:* and among other reasons that he gave for the greatness of this his Rage against Popery, one was, *That the having Tolerated it in* Ethiopia, *had cost his Brother his Life, and his Empire*

Adam succeeds *Claudius.*

Adam a fierce Enemy to Popery.

Empire a vaſt treaſure both of Money and Blood: And in order to the extirpating ſo pernicious an Inmate, as he reckoned it to be, he firſt took *all the Lands which had been given by his Brother to the* Portugueſes *for their Service, from them*; and afterwards their *Children, committing them to the care of ſuch as would be ſure to Educate them in the* Alexandrian *Faith.* After this, he Commanded the Coadjutor *to be apprehended and thrown into Priſon, threatning to Burn him and his Jeſuits alive, if they did not give over corrupting his People with their falſe Doctrines*: And having one day ordered the Coadjutor to be brought before him, he fell upon him after a moſt barbarous manner, asking him, *Whether it was not ſufficient that he ſuffered him to live in his Empire to look after his* Portugueſes, *but he muſt be corrupting his Monks and Subjects with his Hereſies?* adding, *let me adviſe you, as you love your Life, not to tamper any more with my Subjects.* The Coadjutor made anſwer, *That he did nothing but what his Office obliged him to, and that he would do, whatever it coſt him.* This reſolute Anſwer put *Adam* into ſuch a fury, that after having called the *Coadjutor a great many hard Names*, and asked him, *How he durſt come into* Ethiopia *to Preach his Lies and Fopperies in it?* He flew upon him, and tore his Robes, the Courtiers having much ado to take him off; and having ſent for him another time, he told him after a great deal of *foul Language, That if he would not promiſe to give over Corrupting his Subjects, his head ſhould pay for it.* The Coadjutor without anſwering a word, *Croſſed his Arms, and hung down his Head,*

A Dialogue betwixt the Emperor and Coadjutor.

Head, making a tender of his Neck to him; this put *Adam* in such a rage, *That he drew his Cimiter in great fury with an intention of gratifying the Coadjutor*: But behold a Miracle, say the Jesuits, *When* Adam's *Arm was lifted up to have given the fatal blow, his Cimiter dropt out of his hand, to the great mortification of the Coadjutor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of dying a Martyr presently*: But though *Adam* was hindered by that Miracle from executing what he had designed, he was so far from being any ways softened by it, that he told the Coadjutor with great disdain, *What I warrant you, you are ambitious of being made a Martyr by my hand*; *go get you gone out of my presence, and let me hear no more of you and your false Doctrines*; *for if I do, I shall find a baser hand somewhere that shall gratifie you in making you a Martyr, since you have a mind to be one.*

But the chief cause of *Adam* treating the Coadjutor and *Portugueses* thus, discovered it self in a sudden Rebellion that brake out against him at this time, of which their old friend *Bahurnagays* was one of the chief, who having retired from Court to his Government, kept upon the Sea-coast in expectation of the *Portuguese* Succors which the Viceroy had promised to send after the Coadjutor into *Ethiopia*; which not coming so soon as they were expected, the Coadjutor had sent one *Andrew Galdamas*, a *Spanish* Jesuit, to the *Indies* to hasten them over, by assuring the Viceroy, That there was no Conversion to be made in *Ethiopia* without the assistance of some Catholick Troops. But Father *Andrew* being discovered

Bahurnagays takes up Arms against *Adam*.

discovered at *Arkiko*, as he was ready to have embarked on a Ship belonging to the *Baneans*, was hewed in pieces by the *Mahometans*. Father *Teller* after having pronounced Father *Andrew* a *Martyr*, justifies the cause of his death, by affirming, *Que esta sempre à pratica dosque tem experientia de* Ethiopia, *que sem as armas na-mam que, defendam & Authorizem à os pregadores Catholicos, nam poderam nunqua ter ò Successo deseiado entre aquelles Schismaticos*; that is to say, *It had always been the opinion of such as had any experience in the Affairs of* Ethiopia, *that unless the Catholick Preachers were defended and authorized by Dragoons, they would never have the success that was desired among those Schismaticks.*

Adam being sensible of this, and dreading nothing so much as the coming of *Portuguese* Troops into his Empire, notwithstanding the gross of the Rebellion was in an Inland Province, where they had Proclaimed one *Tascaro*, a Son of *Adam*'s elder Brother, Emperor; He marched first against *Baburnagays*, resolving if it were possible, to break his Army before it received a *Portuguese* Reinforcement. *Adam* had two Battels with *Baburnagays*: In the first he is said to have been worsted by him; but to have routed *Baburnagays* to that degree in the last, that he was forc'd to sculk about the Sea-coast with a handful of *Portugueses*, all of that Nation that were at liberty in *Ethiopia*, having run into him when he first took up Arms.

Adam having thus quelled *Baburnagays*, and being inform'd, that now the Moçons were over,

over, there was no fear of *Ethiopia* being troubled with any *Portugueſe* Troops for one ſix Months at leaſt. He marched back to find out his Nephew, who had been Proclaimed Emperor, and being come up with him, he obliged him to come to a Battel; the Fight continued obſtinate for ſome hours, but in the concluſion the Rebels were overthrown, and *Taſcaro* being taken Priſoner, had his head chopped off immediately by his Uncle's order.

He is routed, and goes over to the *Turks*.

Adam after theſe Victories thought to have taken ſome reſt; when intelligence was brought him, that *Bahurnagays* deſpairing of finding mercy at his hands, and of the coming of the *Portugueſe* which had been promiſed him, had with the handful of *Portugueſes* that ſtuck to him, taken Sanctuary among the *Mahometans*, and was incouraging them to invade *Ethiopia*.

The honeſt Author of the *Aſia Portugueſe*, ſaith, This trick of the *Portugueſes* going over with *Bahurnagays* to the *Turks*, was ſo ill taken by the *Habaſſin* Emperors, that they could never after that endure to hear of having any Soldiers of that Nation in their Countrey; but as we ſhall ſee hereafter, that did not hinder the Miſſionaries, who deſired to ſee ſuch Troops in *Ethiopia* above all things in the world, from making bold to ſend for them in their Names.

The *Mahometans* having at *Nagay*'s inſtigation Marched into *Ethiopia* with a great Army, had *Arkiko* and *Matzua* the only Sea-Ports of that Empire delivered to them by *Nagay*'s creatures; which places as they were of more importance to them than the whole Countrey beſides,

He brings the *Turks* into *Ethiopia*, and delivers *Matzua*, and the other Sea-Port Towns to them.

beſides, by making them Maſters of the whole Coaſt of the *Red-Sea*; ſo having once got them into their hands, they have taken care to keep them, continuing Maſters of them to this day.

Adam not being able to brook this loſs, and the great devaſtations that were made by the Infidels in the beſt Provinces of his Empire, reſolved to venture it all, or to recover what he had loſt; and ſo tho he was ſenſible of his Armies being in all reſpects inferior to that of the Enemy; yet being puſhed on by his rage, he determined to bid them Battel; which the Infidels having accepted of, did maul the *Habaſſins* ſo with their Artillery, that they preſently gave ground, *Adam* himſelf being overthrown upon heaps of his ſlain Men, moſt of the reſt that fled being either made Priſoners, or put to the Sword. The whole *Habaſſin* Baggage having upon this total rout fallen into the hands of the *Mahometans*, among it the Coadjutor and his *Jeſuits*, whom *Adam* had carried along with him as Hoſtages in all his Marches, were found, and were all ſtripped with the ſlain, before *Bahurnagays* and his *Portugueſe* could come to their Relief.

Adam ſlain in Battel.

The Coadjutor and the Fathers are made Priſoners by the *Turks*.

So that notwithſtanding the Biſhop and his Fathers had their full revenge of *Adam* for having treated them ſo barbarouſly; yet I do not find that they much bettered their condition by it. One of the Fathers in a Letter that was writ after *Adam* was ſlain, telling his Brethren at *Goa*, that at the writing thereof, they were in as lamentable an

an eſtate as it is almoſt poſſible for men to be, in having neither Clothes, Bread, nor Credit; and that the poor Coadjutor was in ſuch a Garb, that it was enough to make a Chriſtian's heart bleed to ſee him in it.

Adam being ſlain, was ſucceeded by his Son *Malac Saged*, who was Crowned and Anointed at *Axun*, and who tho he Reigned Thirty Years, was never one day out of War either with his Neighbours or Subjects, and as to the main was Victorious ſtill; and tho he hated the *Roman* Church no leſs than his Father; nevertheleſs having his thoughts wholly taken up with War, he gave the Coadjutor and the *Jeſuits*, after they returned to *Fremona*, no manner of Moleſtation, unleſs they were troubled at his taking no more notice of them than if there had been no ſuch perſons in his Countrey: Neither did the Coadjutors declaring himſelf Patriarch, upon his having received advice of the Patriarch *Baretto*'s death, who died at *Goa* on the Twentieth of *December*, 1562, ingage the Emperor to have ere the more regard for him; and as the Emperor gave the Patriarch no trouble in his retirement, ſo neither did the Patriarch give him any, who deſpairing of being able to do any good in *Ethiopia*, without the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſe*-Troops, made the ſolliciting of them his whole buſineſs. So in a Letter to the General of the *Jeſuits* bearing date the 3d of *June*, 1566. he tells him, *There was one thing he and the Fathers were all agreed in, which was, That nothing but a good body of* Portugueſe *Soldiers would ever be able to reduce* Ethiopia *to the*

Adam is ſucceeded by his Son *Malac Saged*, who takes no notice of the Miſſionaries.

The Patriarch dying at *Goa*, the Coadjutor becomes Patriarch.

the Obedience of the Roman *Church*; and in one of the same date to the Rector of the *Jesuits* College at *Goa*, he tells him, *There was one thing he might be certain of, which was, that there was no other remedy for* Ethiopia, *but a good body of* Portuguese *Troops*, adding, *that if they had but 5 or 600 stout Musketeers, he would undertake for the reducing of* Ethiopia *to the* Roman *Church in a short time*: Concluding his Letter with a complaint, *that more men were daily exposed to greater dangers for things of much less Importance, even to the State, and where the success was infinitely more doubtful.* And *Manuel Fernandes* in a Letter to the Provincial and *Jesuits* of *Goa*, chimes exactly with his Patriarch, in this note. *What shall I say, saith* Fernandes, *my dearest Fathers and Brethren! to blame your Reverences who are in* India *for the great neglect of not having sent the Troops whereon the Reduction of this Empire depends intirely, I know would be unjust; being certain, that if it had been in your Reverence's power to have appli'd it, that we had had that remedy long before this time: Nevertheless there is one thing I must beg of you, and that is, That since your Reverences do heartily wish that we had those Soldiers, tho it is not in your power to send them to us, that you would pray earnestly to Christ to put it into their hearts, in whose power it is to do it effectually. I am likewise certain, that if your Reverences did but see what is lost here in* Ethiopia *for want of a handful of men, who would also be able to protect those who have already embraced our Faith, that you would run howling and lamenting so great a loss thorough all the streets of the City: Your Reverences may think of this what you please, but I do say and affirm, That the*

The Patriarch follicits hard for Troops.

Father *Fermandes* do's the same.

the Order of Jesuits *has no where so noble and glorious an enterprize upon their hands as this of* Ethiopia, *if they could but finish it*: *Neither ought it to seem strange to you, that we should say, That a body of Soldiers is necessary to the reduction of this Church, considering that there is nothing more certain, than that at the same time you lose the favour of the King, the work of conversion goes on but very dull; and no wonder, since even in* Portugal, *the Prelates, if they had not the assistance of the Secular Arm, would not be able to do their duties; and though it is true that we pretend to have no other business here but the service of God, and the promotion of the good of peoples Souls; yet it is certain, that those Troops, if they were once here, would quickly clear this Empire of all its Foreign and Domestick Enemies, chiefly of the* Turks *and* Galls, *by whom it is at this time so miserably harassed, and against whom the unhappy Natives are not able to make head; who as they contradict our Lord, so our Lord contradicts them in chastising them with flies, for the* Galls *are no better*: *It being an unconceivable thing, how such a sorry naked People should be able to do the things that they do against the* Habassins, *who have both Arms and Horses, were it not that God makes, and will make War against them, until such time as they shall give over making War against his Divine Majesty*: *Wherefore since a good body of Soldiers would remedy all our wants, Spiritual and Temporal, let me again beg it of your Reverences, to beseech God to send us this necessary Succour.*

I would have your Reverences likewise remember, with how great Zeal and Charity our holy Father Ignatius *commanded our Superiors in* Portugal,

nos to fail to speak to the King, who is now with God, once a Month, at least, concerning the Habassin *Mission: But though my intent in putting you in mind of this, should not be to engage you to do the same with the Viceroy; yet this I will affirm, That since this is the Cause of God, and the Society, and so great a Cause too, that you ought never to give over soliciting both God and Princes about this affair: So that it may never be said of us,* They begun to build, but could not finish. *Finally, I do assure you, That if we had but those Troops once, that not only* Ethiopia, *but another* Europe *would be brought quickly to the Knowledge of Christ, and the Obedience of the* Roman *Church.*

The Jesuits of *Goa*, *Lisbon*, and *Rome*, were so inflamed by these passionate Letters, that the Cardinal *Don Henry*, who during the Minority of his Nephew *Don Sebastian*, governed *Portugal*, could not be quiet day nor night for them, his not ordering so small a body of Men to be sent where they would infallibly do both the Church and Crown so great service, being every where roared at by them, as both the most ungodly and impolitick thing that any Government had ever been guilty of.

The Cardinal of *Portugal* prevails with the Pope to call the Patriarch out of *Ethiopia*.

The Cardinal and Council of State, who weighed things a little more soberly than the distressed Jesuits in *Ethiopia*, finding they could not well spare so many Soldiers at that time, from the more profitable Conquests they were going on with in the *Indies*, resolved, since they could not comply with the loud clamours of the Jesuits, to remove the cause of them, by writing to the Pope to recal the Patriarch

Patriarch and his Friars, and to ſend them ſomewhere elſe, *where they might do more good, and make leſs noiſe*; by repreſenting the Converſion of the *Habaſſins* to him as a thing not feiſable.

The Pope, who at that time was *Pius* the Vth. believing what the Cardinal had writ to him in the Name of the King of *Portugal*, diſpatched the following Letters of Revocation to the Patriarch, which the Cardinal took care to forward with all poſſible expedition.

To our Venerable Brother, Andrew Oviedo, *Patriarch of* Ethiopia.

Venerable Brother, Health and Apoſtolical Benedidtion, &c.

The Pope's Letters of Revocation.

BY *Letters from our Beloved Son* Sebaſtian, *the Illuſtrious King of* Portugal, *his Ambaſſador reſident at our Court, and by other Perſons of good Credit, we are informed, That you having been ſent by this* Apoſtolical See *into* Ethiopia *to reduce the People thereof to the knowledge of the Orthodox Faith, have not, after having ſpent ſeveral years therein, been able, by reaſon of the hardneſs of their hearts, and their obſtinacy in their ancient Errors, to reap that fruit which might juſtly have been expected of your pious Labours, whereas if you were employed in the Iſland of* Japan, *or the Province of* China, *Countries inhabited by* Heathens, *and who at this time ſeem well diſpoſed to receive the Faith of Chriſt, it is to be hoped that with God's Aſſiſtance*

your Labours would be profitable in those parts where the Harvest is great, and the Labourers are few.

We having been thus informed, and being moved by brotherly Charity, suffering together with you, since there is no likelihood of your reaping that fruit where you are, which might justly be expected from your great Labours, and so long a Peregrination; and finding our selves placed, though without our Merits, in this holy See, *and being sensible of our being debtors to all, and by our Office bound to promote the Glory and Honour of Almighty God, and the Salvation of Souls, saluting you with the Charity of a Brother, and having received ample testimonies of your Zeal and Affection to promote the Catholick Religion, we do exhort you in the Lord, and in virtue of holy Obedience, and the remission of all your Sins, Command you, by the first opportunity you shall have of Sailing after the receipt of these our Letters, to depart forthwith to the Island of* Japan, *or* China, *there to Preach the word of God according to the Doctrine of the Holy* Roman *Church, who is the Mother and Mistress of all the Faithful, and there to administer all the Sacraments which do properly belong to the Episcopal Function, so as trusting in the Divine Mercy, to endeavour to gain all the Souls you can to God; and in order to the enabling you thereunto, we do by our Apostolical Authority give you free leave and full power to exercise all Episcopal Offices in those parts, or any other, that have not a proper Bishop: So as to make use of all those Faculties and Indults which were granted to you by Pope* Julius *the* IIId. *of happy Memory, or by any other* Roman *Bishop, our Predecessors, with relation to the Kingdom of* Ethiopia:

Ethiopia: *And we do likewiſe by the ſame Authority diſpenſe with you ſo far, that you may without any ſcruple of Conſcience, live and remain in the aforeſaid parts, unleſs there ſhould happen to be more hopes of reducing* Ethiopia *to the Union of the Catholick Faith, than there is at preſent.*

Dated at *Rome* in St. *Peter's*, and Signed with the Seal of the Fiſherman, on the 1ſt. of *February* 1560.

The Patriarch is unwilling to return to the *Indies*.

The Patriarch, though Sick of *Ethiopia*, yet ſeems to have had no great ſtomach for the *China* or *Japan* Miſſion, which, to ſpeak the Truth, was a hard impoſition upon one of his years: And ſo, though in his Anſwer which is here ſubjoined, he aſſures the Pope of his readineſs to ſubmit to all his Commands; yet he ſufficiently intimates, that he was as willing to reſign his Dignity, and ſerve him or the Jeſuits in their Kitchens, as to keep it, and carry it to *China* or *Japan*; in which affair, it is to be feared that the Patriarch's being a *Spaniard*, was of no advantage to him, it being the cuſtom of the *Portugueſes* when they have got any Foreign Friars among them in the *Indies*, to put them upon the forlorn of all dangerous Miſſions, as they did *Oviedo* on this, and Father *Peter*, who was likewiſe a *Spaniard*, on that of the Second *Habaſſin* Miſſion; as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The Patriarch's Answer to the Pope.

Andrew d'Oviedo *to Pope* Pius *the* V*th.*

Most Blessed Father,

His Answer to the Pope.

IN *this present year* 1567, *with some Letters from the College of St.* Paul *at* Goa, *a Copy of an Apostolical Brief from your Holiness to me, came to my hands; wherein among other pious, devout, and holy things, are these words;* We do exhort you in the Lord, and in virtue of holy Obedience, and Remission of your Sins, do command you, by the first opportunity you shall have of sailing after the receit of these our Letters, to depart for the Island of *Japan*, or the Kingdom of *China*. *And a little lower there are these words,* We do furthermore by the same Apostolical Authority, dispense with you so, that in case there is no hopes of reducing *Ethiopia* to the Church, you may go into those parts, and there remain without any scruple of Conscience.

To which Apostolical Letters, no less than if I had received their original, I prepared my self to yield obedience, as it is fit, just, and healthful, that we should at all times, and in whole and in part obey your Holiness; for in obeying you, Most Holy Father, we obey Christ the only begotten Son of God, in whose place you are upon earth, our Head and Father, and the Master of all faithful Christians; all the Indulgence, Order, and Power of the Church of Christ being derived from you to all others: The holy Mother-Church of Rome, *whose*

whose Faith never did nor never will fail, and who is the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches in the world, and of all faithful Christians, being continued in your Pontificate.

As to your having commanded me to go to the Island of Japan *by the first convenience, I have had no opportunity since I received your Commands, and so am excused for not being gone; neither in truth can I embark here with any safety, there being a thousand* Turkish *Ships, and not one Christian in the Port of* Matzua *at this time. As to what is said of having any hopes of the reducing of* Ethiopia, *I should quickly have such hopes, could we but have Five or Six hundred* Portugueses *sent hither from the* Indies, *according to what was agreed before I left* Goa, *upon the advice they had received there, of the obstinacy of the King of* Ethiopia, *and which we have been now long expecting. Were this once done, I should not only hope to see* Ethiopia *quickly reduced, but should be infallibly certain of it: With which Troops we should not only be able to convert all this Empire, but innumerable multitudes of Heathens also, into whose Countries they might march from hence, without crossing any Sea: Which Heathens being a simple sort of people, and not much addicted to Idolatry, might be converted with great ease. We have been told that great numbers of them have petitioned the King of* Ethiopia *to be made Christians, but have been denied out of temporal respects, the* Ethiopians *reckoning that after they are Christians it is not lawful to make them Slaves, as they do now in vast numbers. The Heathens that desired this, were of* Damut, *a Countrey that abounds with* Pure Gold, *and is said*

to reach to the King of Portugal's *Territories which are about* Mosambique *and* Sefalia. *There are Heathens likewise in another Countrey called* Sinaxi, *which is also full of* Fine Gold, *and who about three years ago offered to a Prince who is nearly related to the King of* Ethiopia, *if he would but desist from the War he had begun upon them, both to turn Christians, and to pay him a Yearly Tribute. It is from among these Heathens, but chiefly those of* Dambut, *that the* Mahometan *Merchants, who are in great numbers in these parts, do daily buy vast numbers of Slaves, which they sell to the* Moors *and* Turks: *These Heathens would turn Christians with all their hearts, for they cry and take on lamentably when they are carried to the Ships; to which they are driven in such herds, that I am perswaded that the* Turks *have had at least an Hundred thousand of them, who make them all* Mahometans, *and who afterwards are known by experience to become stout Soldiers, and to do the* Saracens *great Service both by Sea and Land. All which mischiefs Five or Six hundred* Portuguese *Soldiers, if we had them here, would remedy, and would do extraordinary service to the State of* India, *and to all the Christians thereof; for if the* Turks *should once make themselves Masters of* Ethiopia, *it would be of fatal consequence to the* Portuguese *Interest in the* Indies; *there being divers things in this Countrey, that would be serviceable to them in reference to their Galleys, as Slaves, Iron, and other Provisions.*

The King that first began to persecute our Holy Faith, and all his Ministers, are now in their Graves; and his Son, who now reigns, is not Absolute,

late, the Royal Authority having been much shaken and impaired of late, God in his Justice having so ordered things, that he that refused to obey him, and submit himself to the Roman *Church, from which all that have separated themselves obstinately have been destroyed, and have fallen under the yoke of Infidels, should not be obeyed by his own Subjects. The people here are all in pieces, and are so cowed by the devastations the* Turks *have made among them, that they think of nothing, but how to live and keep their Estates. But tho the late King and his Ministers were possessed with a strange Rage against the Catholick Faith, and us Catholicks, the common people and some others seemed to be well enough disposed towards it. For our part we have not been sparing of our pains to preach to them; and besides divers Conferences and Disputations both private and publick that we have had with them, we have written divers Treatises against their Errors, and have got them translated into* Habassin; *so that all the Doctrines of Faith have been sufficiently promulgated to them, if they could but be persuaded to embrace them; not but that there are great numbers of them who are satisfied of the truth of our Faith, but who either out of shame, or fear of punishment, are afraid to profess it: For which reason there are several that would be glad to see some* Portuguese *Troops here to defend them in the Faith after they have professed it; out of which, by reason of their being but weak therein, they are now easily terrified, as a great many have been; tho there are some who notwithstanding all the contradiction they have met withal, do continue stedfast therein.*

It

It is a common Tradition here, That the Portugueſes *are to come among them to make them of the ſame Faith with themſelves; and they ſay further, and we believe it to be true, That this diſtracted Empire will never be in peace or any tolerable order, until they come; which though they ſhould, and with an intention of offering Violence, would* give no offence to any body; not to Catholicks to be ſure, there being no reaſon why they ſhould be offended at it; *no nor the* Habaſſins *neither, for I am perſuaded that if ſuch a number of* Portugueſe *Troops were here, their name without ſtriking a ſtroke would do the work, ſo that they would look more like Friends than Enemies; and I am certain, that if they had come when we expected them, this whole Empire had been in the Obedience of the* Roman *Church before this time, and it will be the ſame thing if they ſhould come now.*

Wherefore, moſt holy Father, ſince all theſe things do belong to your Office, who are the Univerſal Paſtor, feed theſe your ſheep with wholſome food, and provide a neceſſary remedy for them, by writing to the moſt Serene King of Portugal *for ſome Troops, and by acquainting his Ambaſſador at your Court, with the neceſſity there is of ſending them hither; for to tell your Holineſs my mind frankly, I am of opinion, That* Ethiopia *ought not to be deſerted.*

But after all, if there is no perſuading the King of Portugal *to ſend a body of Soldiers hither, for which for the good of* Ethiopia, *let me beg it of your Holineſs a ſecond time to write to him, he muſt then be deſired to ſend a good Fleet hither to carry off the Catholicks; for ſhould it be*

ſuch

such a one as is talked of, it would not be able to carry one of them to the Indies, *the* Turks *being very strong at present in* Matzua *and all these Seaports; and whatever is done, let us not lose any of the Catholicks that are here, by leaving them in the hands of* Hereticks *and* Infidels; *who after the Heads of their Families and Priests, who are mortal as well as other men, are dead, will be in danger of being lost.*

Finally, I desire to be advised of what your Holiness would have done; and as to what concerns my own Person, most holy Father, I am by God's Grace prepared to Obey your Will, by either continuing where I am, or by going to Japan, *or to the* Turks *if your Holiness should Command me, or by laying down my Patriarchal Dignity, to serve my Fathers the Jesuits, or your Holiness in your Kitchen, or in any other post. And if it shall seem good to your Holiness, I do beg some Indulgences of you for the remission of our Sins. Farewel great Father.*

From Ethiopia *the* 15th.
of June 1566.

Andrew *Patriarch of* Ethiopia.

This Letter of the Patriarch's gives the Reader a clear view of the true temper of the *Roman* Missionaries, and of the methods they are for making use of in the Conversion of *Heretical* Kingdoms to the *Roman* Church; it discloseth likewise the true secret of *Bahurnagays*'s Rebellion, which

which was of such fatal consequence to *Ethiopia*; it being said in this Letter, That the Coadjutor before he left *Goa*, had a promise that a good Body of *Portugueses* should be sent after him; as it is also, that if these Troops had arrived when they were expected, which was when *Bahurnagays* was first in Arms, the *Habassin* Church had been reduced to the Obedience of the *Roman* before the writing of that Letter.

Now what should it be that hindered the *Portuguese* Government, which still pretended that the propagating of the *Roman* Faith, was its chief aim in all its remote Conquests, and whose title to them all, was founded solely on that pretence, from sending such a handful of Men, to do the Church so signal a service as the Converting of another *Europe* to it?

The reason why the *Portugueses* sent no Troops into *Ethiopia*, when so strongly solicited to do it.

It was not that they were fearful that the Number of Soldiers that was desired, would not have been able to have done that great work, for that considering what was done by *Gama* with a smaller number, and that it is not common with the *Portugueses* to distrust their own strength in such cases; whatever was, this could not be the cause of it; and if this was not, one may venture to say, it was not that they reckoned it a scandalous thing to go about to Convert an *Heretical* Kingdom by Dragoon Missionaries, that being a thing, as the Patriarch truly observes in his Letter, *That no true* Roman *Catholick could be offended at.*

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The true cauſe therefore of their denying ſo inconſiderable an aid to do ſo great a work, though ſo vehemently ſolicited to do it, was, that though at firſt they had promiſed themſelves great matters from the reduction of *Ethiopia* to the Obedience of the *Roman* Church, they found afterwards that the doing of it would be of little or no advantage to them, by reaſon of its lying quite out of the way of their great *Indian* Trade, and its having no native Commodities to countervail the great Charge, its remoteneſs, and the neighbourhood of the *Turks*, would neceſſarily put them too, to maintain an intereſt in it.

Neither were the Patriarch and Fathers ſuch weak Men as not to know at what their buſineſs ſtuck, who therefore took care in all their Letters to aſſure the Government, that beſides divers other Commodities, there was *abundance of Fine Gold* in ſome parts of *Ethiopia*; and that *Damut*, which might eaſily be Converted by 600 Soldiers, and *which was likewiſe full of Gold*, did reach to *Moſambique* and *Sefala*, the beſt *Portugueſe* Plantation in the *Indies*; but the Government, it ſeems, either did *not believe theſe reports*, or thought they *ſhould Buy fine Gold there too dear to turn to any account.*

So that the *Spaniſh* Miniſter had this among other Inſtances undoubtedly in his eye, who told *Philip* the IVth. *That it was a vain conceit the World had entertained of the*

the Zeal of the Portugueſes *upon the account of the Converſions which had been made by them in the* Indies; *for it was Covetouſneſs and not Zeal that had engaged them to make all thoſe Conqueſts; the Converſions that had been made in thoſe parts having been performed by the Divine Power, and the Charity of a few particular Friars, the Crown and Government having had no other aim therein, but the Robbing of Kingdoms and Cities; and there were ſtill the greateſt Converſions where there was moſt to gratifie their Covetouſneſs; but where there was nothing to be had, there the People were Obdurate and not to be wrought upon. And ſo we ſee their Zeal expired quickly where it was not animated by Covetouſneſs; and how they who had nothing elſe to ſay, but* Lord open unto us, *were not thought fit to enter into Heaven.*

The Cardinal-Regent having prevailed with the Pope to recal the Patriarch, did order *Ruy Laurenco de Tavara*, who went Viceroy to the *Indies* in the year 1567. ſo ſoon as he arrived at *Goa*, to ſend ſome Ships to *Ethiopia* to fetch off the Patriarch and the Fathers; but *Tavara* happening to die in the Voyage, thoſe Orders, whatever was the reaſon, were never executed; though if they had, ſo ſoon as it was poſſible, the Ships would have come too late for the Patriarch, who died at *Fremona* on the 9th. of *July* in the year 1567.

The Patriarch dieth.

Thus

Thus ended the Firſt great *Habaſſin* Miſſion, from which *Ignatius* had promiſed ſo much Honour to himſelf and his Order: Which, as it was no happy thing for the *Jeſuits*; ſo, excepting the Second Miſſion, it was the worſt thing that ever befel *Ethiopia*. The unhappy iſſue of this Miſſion.

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THE

SECOND PART.

AT the time of the Patriarch's death, of the Five Jesuits that went with him into *Ethiopia*, there were but Three left alive; they were *Manuel Fernandez*, the *most passionate Solicitor for Dragoons*, who died at *Fremona* in the year 1583. *Antony Fernandez*, who died at the same place 10 years after, and *Francis Lopez*, who lived till the year 1597. after whose death there was not one *Roman* Priest left alive in *Ethiopia*.

For Nine years after the Patriarch's decease, the Jesuits seemed to have given the *Habassin* Mission quite over; none of that Order, that we read of, having, during that time, attempted to go thither: But upon *Philip* the IId's. (who pretended to a much greater Zeal than any of his Ancestors for the service of the *Roman* Church) coming to the Crown of *Portugal*, they resumed the thoughts of it again; and not knowing but that all the Fathers who were in *Ethiopia* might be in the

next world; that they might be found by *Philip* in poſſeſſion of that Miſſion, they ſent Two Fathers thither in the *Habit of* Armenian *Merchants*, hoping that under that diſguiſe they might ſteal into it without being diſcovered by the *Turks*, who having got all the *Habaſſin* Ports into their hands, were extremely watchful to keep out *Portugueſes*.

Two Jeſuits are ſent in a diſguiſe to *Ethiopia*.

The Two Friars that were ſent on this dangerous enterpriſe, were *Antony de Monſerrato*, and *Peter Pays*, who were both *Spaniards*; *It being the Cuſtom of the* Portugueſe *Superiors in the* Indies, as has been obſerved before, *when they have any Foreigners under them, to be ſo kind to them, as to give them ſtill the moſt hazardous Poſts:* Which, by the way, is no great argument *of the Friars being always the moſt fond of the Miſſions in which their Lives are expoſed to the moſt danger*, as in all their Hiſtories they are ſtill repreſented to be; for if it were ſo, it is very ſtrange that the *Portugueſes* having their Countreymen ſtill the Superiors, ſhould not have that Intereſt in them, as to carry the moſt deſirable Employments from Foreigners, and eſpecially *Spaniards*, of whoſe Honour they are naturally ſo jealous.

But however that were, in the year 1588. the Two *Spaniards* were ſent from *Goa* to *Dio*, where they waited ſome Months before any opportunity of a paſſage for *Ethiopia* did offer; during which time they went but little abroad, and when they did, it was always in a *Turkiſh* Habit; in which they had ſo diſguiſed themſelves, that *Monſerrate was pelted with*

ſtones

ſtones in the ſtreet by the Boys for a Turk, and Father *Peter* had like to *have been ſhot by a Centinel for walking too near the Ordnance.* But at laſt a *Mahometan* Pilot being ſpoke to by the Governor of *Maſcate*, whither the Fathers went from *Dio*, did undertake to put them both aſhoar at the Port of *Zeyla*; whereupon they embarked on the 6th. of *December*, and after a few days Sail meeting with a violent ſtorm, were driven aſhoar on the Coaſts of *Arabia*, where being diſcovered to be *Chriſtian* Prieſts, they were both ſent by the Governor of *Defar* to his Maſter the King of *Zeal*, who keeps his Court in a City of *Arabia Felix*, called *Tarim*, wherein they were both kept Slaves Seven years.

They were diſcovered and made Slaves in *Arabia.*

The Superiors at *Goa* having received advice of this, named one *Abraham de Georgys*, a *Maronite* Jeſuit, and *James Gonſalves*, to go into *Ethiopia*; but Father *Abraham* when he came to *Goa* from *Malabar*, inſtead of Father *James*, who was a *Portugueſe*, had an *Habaſſin* Youth given him for his Companion.

A *Maronite* Jeſuit is ſent in diſguiſe to *Ethiopia.*

The *Maronite* and *Habaſſin* being arrived at *Dio*, found a Ship belonging to the *Baneans* ready to ſet Sail for *Matzua*, whereon they embarked as *Turks*; and when they landed at *Matzua*, were kindly received as *true Muſſelmen* by the Governor, who himſelf was *a Chriſtian Renegado. Theſe are the Inventions, as the Viceroy* Albuquerque *told Father* Abraham *at* Goa *when he firſt ſaw him in his* Turkiſh *Habit, wherewith the Jeſuits ſeek to ſerve God, and to bring Souls to their Creator.*

The Governor not having the leaſt ſuſpicion of Father *Abraham* being a Chriſtian, and much leſs a Prieſt, gave him leave to go into *Ethiopia* at the firſt word; but being told by the Skipper that brought him, that he had ſome reaſon to think that he was a *Portugueſe* Prieſt, he ſent a hue and cry after him, which having overtook him before he was got to *Arkiko*, brought him back to *Matzua*; the Governor, when *Abraham* was brought before him, being in a great rage at him for his having impoſed upon him as he had done; after he had given him a great many hard words, asked him, *Whether he was a* Muſſelman *or a* Chriſtian? *Abraham* not thinking fit to diſſemble any longer, told him boldly *he was a* Chriſtian, *Are you ſo, ſaid the Governor, then by the Great God if you do not turn* Mahometan immediately, *you ſhall loſe your head for having pretended to be one*: *Abraham* made anſwer, *My Life, it is true, is in your Power, but to make me turn* Mahometan *is not, neither will I ever do it*: Whereupon the Governor, with *a Renegado fury*, commanded him to *be tortured*; which being done, he ordered *his head to be Chopped off*; *but without raiſing a ſpring of freſh water, for that would have been a great benefit to the Iſland, which is much incommoded for want of it*; but inſtead thereof, *a prodigious Fire was ſeen for Forty Nights together over the place where his Body was Buried.*

He is diſcovered and put to death for having profeſſed himſelf a *Mahometan.*

Gregory the XIIIth. having been informed of the great want the *Portugueſes* that were in *Ethiopia* were in of a Prieſt, did order one *John Baptiſta*, an *Italian*, to be Conſecrated a Biſhop,

Biſhop, with an intention of ſending him to them. This *John Baptiſta* had been ſent by *Gregory* before, with Letters to *Amba John*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to perſuade him to ſubmit himſelf to the *Roman* Church, as he was afterwards by *Sixtus* the Vth. to *Gabriel*, Patriarch of the ſaid See, on the ſame errand; it is not ſaid whether Biſhop *Baptiſta* returned to *Rome* with *Gabriel*'s anſwer to *Sixtus*, or having delivered his Letters at *Cayr*, and finding all the Avenues to *Ethiopia* by Land ſtopped by the *Turks*, did go to *Goa* for a Paſſage; but certain it is that he got thither, and that he had not been there long, before the Viceroy *Don Edward de Menezes* embarked him upon a ſmall *Portugueſe* Veſſel, which had orders to put him aſhoar ſomewhere in *Ethiopia*; but the Ship he was upon happening to touch at the Iſland of *Camera*, and it being diſcovered there that *Baptiſta was a Chriſtian Biſhop bound for* Ethiopia, he was thereupon *Murthered by the* Turks. *But though the Jeſuits do not in any of their Hiſtories that I have ſeen, ſo much as mention this Biſhop's Name, not caring, it's like, that it ſhould be known, that any that was not of their Order was employed in this Miſſion; yet, I hope, his not having been a Jeſuit, nor ſent by their Superiors, did no ways contribute to his end; his being ſent to* Habaſſia *at that time, and after ſuch a manner, being a thing that does not look very well.*

The Pope ſends an *Italian* Biſhop to *Ethiopia*

Who being diſcovered was Murthered by the *Turks*.

In the year 1597. *Dom Alexo de Menezes*, the moſt politick Prelate that ever was in thoſe parts, looking upon himſelf now there was no Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, as *the ordinary Prelate*

The Archbiſhop of *Goa* ſends one *Sylva* a Secular Prieſt into *Ethiopia*.

thereof, as he was Primate of the Indies, did take the *Habaſſin* Affair into his own hands, and having caſt about how to have Intelligence from thence, and to ſupply the *Portugueſes* that were there with a Prieſt, he did at laſt fall upon the following expedient.

There was one *Belchior de Sylva*, a Converted *Bramen*, who was Vicar of the Church of St. *Ann* in *Goa*; whom the Archbiſhop after he had determined to ſend him into *Ethiopia*, ordered upon ſome Informations he pretended to have received againſt him, to be thrown into Priſon, threatening him with ſevere Cenſures if what he was accuſed of ſhould be proved; having at the ſame time ſo concerted the matter with *Sylva*, that he was to break Jayl on a certain night, and come to him in a diſguiſe at a place called *Bardez*, which he was then going to viſit, being in the mean time to let his Hair and Beard grow, the better to diſguiſe himſelf. When the night agreed upon was come, *Sylva* having broke Jayl, went directly to *Bardez*, where the Archbiſhop kept him private, and to blind the matter the more, ſeemed to be very angry at his having made his eſcape, and to uſe extraordinary diligence to catch him again.

Sylva under the diſguiſe of a *Eaſtern* Sailor gets into *Ethiopia*.

Sylva having received his Inſtructions, and being put into a *Turkiſh* Habit with Pendants in his Ears, was ſent privately by the Archbiſhop to *Dio*; where he remained *Incognito* till a Ship offered for *Ethiopia*, on board which he liſted himſelf a *Sailor*; and during the whole Voyage he behaved himſelf ſo among the

the Mariners as not to be in the leaſt ſuſpected by any of them of being a *Chriſtian*. The Ship being arrived at her Port, *Sylva* the firſt time he went aſhoar, made the beſt of his way for *Ethiopia*, and having got to *Deboraa*, was entertained there with great joy by the *Portugueſes*, who had been for ſome years without a Prieſt of their own Religion.

The Jeſuits, that nothing might ſeem to have been done towards the reduction of *Ethiopia* without their having had ſome hand in it, will have the Archbiſhop to have ſent *Sylva* thither at their requeſt: But this was not all that Archbiſhop *Menezes* did in this matter; for having received advice of *Sylva*'s being arrived in *Ethiopia*, he thereupon writ a Letter, not only *to the* Roman *Catholicks, but to the* Abuna likewiſe, *exhorting him to ſubmit himſelf and his Church to the Pope*; and among other Arguments he made uſe of to perſuade him to ſuch a ſubmiſſion, he ſent him a *rich preſent, together with the ſolemn ſubmiſſion of the* Alexandrian *Patriarch of himſelf and his whole Church to Pope* Clement *the* VIIIth. as it is pompouſly publiſhed by *Baronius* in an Appendix to the Sixth Tome of his Eccleſiaſtical Annals; *Conjuring him to follow the example of that great Prelate whom his Church had ſo long owned for her Head.*

The Archbiſhop of *Goa* writes to the *Abuna* to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope after the example of the Patriarch of *Alexandria.*

But *this* Alexandrian *ſubmiſſion*, notwithſtanding *Baronius* was in ſuch haſte to make a flouriſh with it, that he clapt the Hiſtory thereof to the end of the Fifth Century, *was a mere impoſture*; for whereas it is ſaid to have been made *by* Gabriel *Patriarch of* Alexandria,

The *Alexandrian* ſubmiſſion he refers to, was a mere trick.

andria, *the Patriarch of* Alexaandria's *Name at the time when that ſubmiſſion is reported to have have been made, was not* Gabriel, *but* Mark. *So little pains are the hungry* Eaſtern *Monks, who come to* Rome *with their mock ſubmiſſions, at, to make their Impoſtures look probable.*

The Learned Father *Simon* ſpeaking of Archbiſhop *Menezes* having made uſe of this ſubmiſſion to perſuade the *Abuna* of *Ethiopia*, after the example of his Patriarch, to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, ſaith, *The Archbiſhop was not, it ſeems, ſenſible that the Church of* Rome *had been impoſed on in that matter, and that* Baronius *was too credulous in publiſhing the acts of that ſubmiſſion under the Name of the Patriarch of* Alexandria, *and of the Catholick Church.*

And *Thomas a Jeſu*, a *Carmelite* Friar, ſpeaking of the ſame in his *Sixth Book de Converſione omnium Gentium procuranda*, ſaith, *In the time of* Clement *the* VIIIth. *a Fictitious Embaſſy of the* Alexandrian *Church, was brought to the* Roman *Pontiff: Wherein* Mark *the Patriarch, and with him all the Provinces of* Egypt, *and the parts adjoyning to it, did acknowledge the Pope to be the Head and Univerſal Paſtor of the Church, as* Baronius *writes at large at the end of his Sixth Tome; but the matter thereof coming afterwards to be more diligently looked into, it was found to be a lie, and the fiction of one* Barton *an Impoſtor. And yet notwithſtanding this diſcovery, the Hiſtory of that ſubmiſſion continues to vapour ſtill in all the Editions of* Baronius's *Annals that have come out ſince.*

The Archbiſhop ſent the *Abuna* likewiſe a Confeſſion of his own Faith, telling him withal,

withal, *That in case he would submit himself to the Pope, as he was in duty bound, that affair would be managed much to his advantage by the* Portugueses; he writ also to *Clement* the VIIIth. *desiring him to lay his Commands on the Patriarch of* Alexandria, *who was now under his Obedience, to oblige the* Habassin Abuna *to follow his Example:* He writ also to *Belchior da Sylva, to send some* Habassin *Boys to* Goa *to be instructed in the* Roman *Faith and Rites.* And last of all, he writ to *Philip* the IId. *for a yearly Pension for the* Portugueses *that were in* Ethiopia; of whom he obtained 1500 *Cruzado*'s, which were to be paid to them yearly out of the Royal Revenues of the *Indies*, to which he himself added 300 *Pardaos*, and prevailed with the *Misericordia* at *Goa* to give the same Sum: *Of all which there is not one syllable to be met with in any of the Jesuits Histories; whereas had this Archbishop been of their Order, as he was of the* Austin, *the world would have had whole Volumes in Praise of his great Zeal and Industry in this Affair.*

The Jesuits being desirous to recover the *Habassin* Mission, which both the Pope and the Archbishop seemed to have taken out of their hands, did in order thereunto, labour hard to have a College for their Friars at *Dio*; and having got some Benefactors to contribute towards the building and endowing thereof, they sent Father *Gasper Suares* from *Goa* to *Dio* to begin the Work. But the *Baneans*, of which *Dio* is full, knowing that the Jesuits, where-ever they setled, *did turn Traders*, did strongly oppose their having a College there; pretending,

The Jesuits erect a College at *Dio.*

pretending, *That it would certainly ruin the Trade of the Port*; by which Pretence, and great Bribes, they ſo far influenced the Viceroy, that he put a full ſtop to it; of which the Jeſuits of *Goa*, *Lisbon* and *Madrid*, made ſuch Tragical Exclamations, that the King wrote a very angry Letter to the Viceroy about it, Commanding him *to ſhut his hands againſt the Bribes of the* Baneans, *and not to be frighted from pious Works, by ſuggeſtions that they would tend to the ruin of Trade, ſince the reaſon why he ſent Viceroys into* India, *was not to encreaſe his Revenue, but to advance Chriſtianity:* The Viceroy and *Baneans* were ſo mortified by this ſevere Letter, that they did not only give way to, but did contribute largely towards the building of the ſaid College, which by that means was finiſhed in a ſhort time.

The King had writ likewiſe to the Viceroy, *To furniſh the Jeſuits with ſix Ships, to conveigh their Miſſionaries into* Ethiopia; but they having but three Friars to ſend thither, who were Father *Peter*, who had been ranſomed a year or two before; and Father *Anthony de Angelis*, a *Neopolitan*, and Father *Anthony Fernandes*, a *Portugueſe*; the Viceroy reckoning *that two Ships were ſufficient to carry three Friars, and that ſix would not be enough to fight the* Turks, *if they happened to meet with them*, ſent but two to them to *Dio*, where they were now ſetled in their new College, one of which was forced back by a Storm to *Damon*, the other getting to *Dio*, but much damaged both in her Hulk and Rigging.

Father

Father *Peter* having, during his seven years Captivity in *Arabia*, made himself a perfect Master of the *Arabick* Tongue, did converse much at *Dio*, where he passed *for an Armenian Christian* with the *Mahometans* that came to trade there, but chiefly with a Servant of the Bashaws of *Suaqhem*, whose name was *Reccuam Aga*, with whom he contracted an intimate familiarity. This *Aga* happening one day in discourse to ask the Father, *Why, after seven years captivity, he did not think of returning home to his own Countrey, meaning* Armenia; the Father told him, *That there was nothing that he was so desirous of as to see* Armenia, *but that he was afraid to venture himself again in the* Turkish *Territories: Aga* thereupon did frankly undertake to put him in a way to get home with safety, offering to carry him along with him to *Matzua* and *Suaqhem*, and from thence to *Cayr*, from whence he promised to send him with a Pass to *Jerusalem*, from which place he might return home without any danger. The Father having thanked *Aga* for his kind offer, told him *he would accept of it, provided he would give him leave, when he was at* Matzua, *to make a step into* Ethiopia, *to negotiate a little business he had to do there*; desiring him withal *not to let the Governor of* Dio *know any thing of his design of returning home, for that he would certainly stop him, if he came to hear of it. Aga*, who did not know but that he might have occasion to return to *Dio* again, and for that reason, being unwilling to do any thing whereby he might disoblige the Governour, told the Father, *That though he should be very glad*

glad to serve him in taking him along with him, yet unless he could obtain leave of the Governour to go, he must pardon him for not doing it: The Father being well pleased with *this scruple* of *Aga*'s, did promise since *he would not carry him without it, to try to obtain leave of the Governour to go with him. And with such Engano's or Tricks,* saith a Jesuit, *Father* Peter *cheated the Devil.*

The Father having communicated the whole *Farce* to the Governour, he was so well pleased with it, that he helped *to carry it on*, by shewing *Aga* extraordinary Civilities for the kindness he intended to do *to the good* Armenian.

On the 22*d* of *March* 1603. *Aga* and his *Armenian* set sail from *Dio*, and on the 26*th* of *April* they arrived safe at *Matzua*; where the Bashaw being in the Countrey, the Father, upon *Aga*'s recommendation, was treated very kindly by *Mustadem*, the Lieutenant-Govournor, who at the first word granted him leave to go for some time into *Ethiopia* to negotiate the business he pretended to have there. Father *Peter*, notwithstanding his civil treatment, was in pain till he was got from *Matzua*, and having notice of six Christians that were bound for *Ethiopia*, he took the opportunity of their company, and having fixed his Journey on the 5*th* of *May*, he went to take his leave of his Patron *Aga*, who promised to *wait two months for him at* Matzua, by which time the *Armenian* assured him *he would be with him again.*

In seven days the Father and his Company got to *Deboraa*, where he was waited on by Captain

Captain *John Gabriel*, with several other *Portugueses*, who did all accompany him to *Fremona*, where Father *Sylva* resided, and the Patriarch and most of his Companions had been buried.

Father *Peter*, a *Spanish* Jesuit, steals into *Ethiopia*.

The first thing he did after his coming to *Fremona*, was to acquaint the Emperor, whose name was *Jacob*, with his arrival, and to *offer him his service*; the Emperor returned him a kind Answer, telling him, *That after the Winter was over, he should be glad to see him at his Court.*

This *Jacob* was a *Natural Son of the last Emperor Malac Sagued*, who having left no Male-Children by his Empress *Mariam Cima*, had named this *Jacob* at his Death his Successor, in wrong to his Nephew *Za Danguil*, the Son of his Brother *Lepena Christo: For notwithstanding it is in the power of the* Habassin *Emperor to name his Successor, he is by the Laws of the Land tied to nominate a Male of the Royal Blood born in Wedlock.*

Jacob the Natural Son of *Malac Sagued* was then Emperor.

Jacob was but an Infant when his Father died; which was perhaps the chief reason why the Empress and Grandees of the Court *were so zealous for his nomination, hoping during his long Minority, to have the Government wholly in their own hands.* And so the first thing they did after the old Emperor's breath was out of his body, was to secure *Za Danguil*, that he might give them no molestation; which they reckoned they had done sufficiently, by making him a close Prisoner in the Island of *Deck*, in the Lake of *Dembea*.

For

For Seven Years the Government was entirely in the hands of the Empreſs and her Two Sons-in-law, *Ras Athanateus*, and *Calſunde* the Viceroy of *Tigre*, who had been the chief Promoters of *Jacob*'s Nomination to the Crown; and *who having taſted of the ſweet of Sovereign Authority, were very unwilling to part with it to* Jacob, *now he was of Age, according to the Cuſtom of the Empire, to take it upon himſelf*; and to prevent that, they had given him an Education which they reckoned would have rendred him both *unfit to govern*, and have diſpoſed him to have been ſatisfied with *the eaſy and gawdy Title of* Emperor, *without troubling himſelf with the exerciſe of its Authority.* But they found themſelves miſtaken; *Jacob* ſo ſoon as he was Fifteen, declaring, *He was now of Age to govern both Himſelf and the Empire; and that he would be no longer under Pupilage, nor be kept a Minor all his days, out of gratitude to thoſe who had helped him to the Title of Emperor, but with a deſign of keeping the Sovereign Authority in themſelves.*

The Empreſs and her two Sons reſented this Treatment *from a Creature of their own making, ſo highly, that they reſolved to try to unmake him again*; and that they might do it *with the better grace*, they pretended *to be troubled in Conſcience for the Injury they had done to* Za Danguil, *in having perſuaded the late Emperor his Uncle to lay him aſide, who was his true Heir:* And having with this and ſome other Popular Pretences brought moſt of the Grandees of the Court into a Conſpiracy to depoſe *Jacob*, and advance *Za Danguil* to the Crown,

Crown, they so order'd the matter, that *Za Danguil* appeared in the Camp, and was proclaimed Emperor by them, before *Jacob* ever so much as dreamt of their having any such design: Nevertheless being advertised thereof by the Acclamations of the Camp, he put himself on Horseback, not to fight, but to make his escape, which he did only with eight of his Servants: But as he was posting towards the Mountains, the Countrey rose upon him, and brought him back a Prisoner: The new Emperor, though advised by several of his Counsellors to cut off his Ears and Nose, would not consent to it; *the* Habassins, *as we shall see hereafter, until their Princes came to be influenc'd by Jesuits, being very merciful in their punishments*; so he contented himself with sending him into the remote Province of *Narea*, ordering the Governor thereof to keep him a close Prisoner.

Jacob is Deposed, and *Za Danguil* made Emperor.

This Revolution happening the Winter after Father *Peter* came to *Fremona*, he continued there till the New Government was thoroughly settled; during which time he employed himself in translating *a Book of the Christian Doctrine*, composed by one *Mark Jorge*, a Jesuit; which is said to have been a Piece much admired in *Ethiopia*.

The Emperor being *naturally curious*, and hearing great things of Father *Peter*'s *Wisdom and Learning*, from some of the Grandees, who had a great mind to have him at Court, to cabal with him about *Portuguese* Troops, he writ the following Letter to him, to invite him to come to him.

The Emperor invites Father *Peter* to Court.

The

THE *Letter of the Emperor* Asnaf Sagued *cometh to the Honourable Father and Master of the* Portugueses: *How do you? Hear the good things God hath done for us: We were seven years a Prisoner, and did suffer innumerable Troubles; but God taking compassion of our Misery, has delivered us out of Prison, and made us the Head of All; according to that of* David, The Stone which the Builders rejected, is made the Head of the Corner. *May the same God that hath begun this Work, bring it to a good Issue: Hear more; We are very desirous to see you here,* and would have you bring the Books of the Laws of the King of *Portugal, if you have them, along with you, for we should be glad to see them.*

As the Father was preparing, upon the receipt of this Letter, to have gone to the Court with the Viceroy of *Tigre*, he was stopped by the News of the *Gauls* having invaded *Ethiopia* with Three Armies at once; having been encouraged to do it by the unsettled Posture they expected to find the Affairs of that Empire in, after so sudden a Revolution. But they quickly found themselves deceived; for notwithstanding they defeated the Viceroy of *Tigre*, who had contrary to the King's Order come to blows with them, their Two other Armies were both totally routed by the Emperor.

The Emperor being returned victorious to his Camps, the Viceroy of *Tigre* sent to Father *Peter* to come to him, that they might go to Court together; who before he left

Fremona,

Fremona, took care to *pack the Secular Priest* Belchior de Sylva *to the* Indies; which was somewhat strange, considering that when he was gone, *there was not a* Roman *Priest left at* Fremona, *to officiate to the* Portugueses, the Father himself being on the wing for the Court. But the truth of the matter is, the Jesuits knowing *that with the assistance of* 4 *or* 500 Portugueses *Soldiers, they should be able at any time to reduce* Ethiopia *to the* Roman *Church, and not despairing in some juncture or other of obtaining such a Succor, they studied nothing so much as the engrossing the whole Honour of so great a reduction to their own Order*; and for that reason they did all they could to hinder Foreigners from intruding themselves into it, which made Father *Peter* choose to leave the *Portugueses* at *Fremona* without any *Roman* Priest, rather than with one who was no Jesuit.

Father *Peter* sends the Secular Priest home before he went to Court. Some Instances of the Jesuits sacrificing all other Interests to that of their own Order.

But however it were in those early days, *Luis Sotelo*, a *Spanish Franciscan*, in his Letter written from *Omura* in *Japan*, where he was a Prisoner, to Pope *Urban* the VIIIth. and *James Collado*, a *Dominican* of the same Nation, in a Memorial presented by him in the year 1631. to the King of *Spain*, have proved beyond contradiction, *That the Souls of the Jesuits are wrapped up so entirely in their own Order, that they will sacrifice all other Interests, that of Converting Heretical and Infidel Kingdoms not excepted, to its Interest and Honour. Which Letter and Memorial, tho extreamly well worth the reading, being too long to be here inserted, I shall only set down so much of them as is sufficient to justify this Charge.*

Sotelo about the middle of his Letter, delivers what follows:

IF *a Friar of any other* Order, *do either out of a Zeal of Charity, or being called by the Faithful, come into these Parts, to give Spiritual Consolation, or to administer the Sacraments of the Church, after he has heard the Confessions of great numbers of persons, who have not seen a Priest in Twenty years, to Confess themselves to, and Confirmed such as were wavering in the Faith, and restored such as had Apostatised from it; the Provincial of the Jesuits shall no sooner hear thereof, let the Province be at never so great a distance from him, and notwithstanding he had never set his foot in it before, than he shall immediately fly thither to oppress so good a Minister: To whom he will represent, That that Countrey being a Parish under his Jurisdiction, he ought not to have administred the Sacraments therein; and upon pretence of the Peoples being his Sheep, will hinder him from performing any more Religious Offices to them. And if the Priest should happen to have the courage to ask him, Why, if those People are under his care, he had abandoned them for so long a time? And whether he thought that one who had so deserted his Flock, ought any longer to be esteemed its Pastor? The Jesuit will answer him with, What Authority have you to ask me any such question? Or to meddle with things that do not belong to you? And having affirmed that he has a right to what he pretends to, he will produce the Council of* Trent, *and read the Constitution to him,* Which prohibits Priests upon pain of Excommunication to admi-

administer the Sacraments in any Parish without the Curate's leave: *Neither will he content himself with that, but will render that Constitution into* Japan, *and publish it to all the People. And in case the said Father should reply, That the words of the Council have no relation to the Countries of* Infidels, *or to places which are newly Converted, or to* Christians *who are Novices in the Faith, but are to be understood only of Countries which have been under* Christian *Princes for divers Ages, and of ancient Parishes where People have been long Christians; The Jesuit shall, notwithstanding that, treat him publickly as a Transgressor of the Council, and do all that is in his power to drive him away, forbidding the People to take any notice of him, or to have any communication with him; and if after that, any Christian should, either out of Compassion or Devotion, receive him into his House, or should enter himself into the Brotherhood of the* Rosary, *or of the* Cord of St. Francis, *he shall be reprimanded for it as boisterously, and be treated by the Jesuit with as much contempt, as if he had intirely renounced the Christian Faith.*

And as to the places where the Jesuits are ordinarily resident, the Faithful dare not so much as offer to entertain a Friar that is not of their Order, nor have the least communication with such a one, unless it be privately; and if the Jesuits come to hear of it, they will Chastise them severely for it; which point they carry so far, as not to suffer any to be of their Congregations that are of a Fraternity of any other Order. A few lines after *Sotelo* adds: *If Friars who are not of their Society do at any time address themselves to the Governor, or*

Vicar-General, to demand judicial Informations concerning the Martyrdom of any of their Brethren, who have loſt their lives for the Catholick Faith, he will not ſo much as give them the hearing; whereas in the caſe of any of their own Brethren, or of any that have been Baptized by them, extravagant relations are preſently exhibited, on purpoſe to ſet all the world a talking of them.

If any thing that is great and illuſtrious is done by any other Friars, the Jeſuits do all that they can either totally to ſtifle it, or by artifices to eclipſe the glory and merit thereof; oppoſing all the undertakings of all other Friars, and repreſenting them as things of little or no benefit; either accuſing what they write of falſhood, or attributing it to envy, or ſome other evil paſſion. And when they themſelves have at any time been the cauſe of any diſaſters, let it be never ſo notorious, they will throw the blame thereof off their own Society, and attribute it to the indiſcretion, imprudence, or bad conduct of ſome other Friars.

Neither can they endure that any thing ſhould be begun by People that are not of their Society; and let it be never ſo viſible, that their Order is not able alone to ſupport the burthen of Converting a Countrey, yet there is no bringing them to admit of others to help them to bear it. Finally he tells us, *That at the ſame time when the Jeſuits did all they could to hinder all other Prieſts and Friars from looking into* Japan, *that there were but Thirty of their Order in it, which was a very ſmall number for an Iſland conſiſting of Sixty ſix Kingdoms, and more than Two hundred Princes.*

I know

I know, saith Father *Collado* in the Preface of his Memorial, *That the Jesuits have in all these Kingdoms set themselves against all other Ecclesiasticks, having published things to the prejudice of all other Orders, and the Friars thereof, that are notoriously false; and have unjustly endeavoured to discredit them, by charging them with things they were no ways guilty of, and for which the Jesuits themselves only were to be blamed.* And in the Body of the Memorial he affirms, *That at the same time when there were a Million of Christians dispersed over* Japan, *and but* 23 Jesuits *who were Priests in it; that notwithstanding that small number, they laboured day and night both at* Rome *and* Madrid, *to hinder any other Friars from being sent thither*; and having advised the setling of a free Trade betwixt *Macao* and the *Philipins*, as a thing of great advantage to the Crown of *Spain*, he saith, *none but the* Jesuits *had ever opposed it, and that they had done it for no other reason, but because there are Friars of other Orders in the* Philipins, *among whom they would be afraid to exercise Trade, and all the liberties thereof, as they did in* China *and* Japan, *where there were no strange Friars to observe what they did.*

Father *Peter* having Packed the Secular Priest away, went to wait on the Viceroy, taking *two Boys of* Portuguese *extraction along with him*; who having got a *Roman* Catechism, that had been translated into *Habassin*, perfectly by heart, the Viceroy was so much delighted with their repeating it, that hearing them do it one day, he said to those that stood next to

him, *Are you not amazed to see in how short a time the Holy Father hath taught these Children so many Godly things?* adding, *but these wretched Monks of ours are just good for nothing.* The Father whenever they made any halt, went presently to visit the Viceroy, who received him always with great Ceremony, obliging his own Monks whenever the Father waited upon him, to withdraw. The Monks complained aloud of this treatment of the Viceroy's, *but they had their complaints*, saith a *Jesuit*, and *the Father his Honours*; but without telling us what it was that made this Ambitious Viceroy court the Father at such a high rate, unless we will believe that it was *only for his having taught two Boys to say their Catechism well.*

The Emperor's Camp, or Court, for they are the same in *Ethiopia*, was at that time at a place called *Oudegere*, upon the shoar of the lake of *Dembea*, where the Father was no sooner arrived, than the Viceroy procured him an audience; and had possessed the Emperor with such a high conceit of his extraordinary Abilities, that when the Father, after having kissed his hand, offered to have retired, he commanded him to sit down by him, asking him several Questions concerning the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Affairs of *Europe*, and the *Indies*. To all which Questions, the Father returned such answers as he knew would please the Emperor.

The Viceroy upon the Emperor's doing the Father such extraordinary Honours, asked a *Portugueze* Captain that stood by him, what he thought *the Monks, who were so angry at the Civilities*

vilities he had ſhewed him on his Journey, would ſay now of the greater honours done him by the Emperor himſelf?

The Emperor, after they had diſcourſed a conſiderable ſpace of time together, made a ſign to the Father to withdraw, having firſt commanded his Officers to entertain him ſplendidly, and according to his deſerts; and having ſent for him betimes, the next morning, he entered into a long and ſerious diſpute with him concerning the *Habaſſin* and *Roman* Faith; which being ended, the Two Boys, upon the Viceroy's having told the Emperor what an aſtoniſhing thing it was to hear them, were called in *to ſay their Catechiſm*, which they did ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the Emperor, that he asked the Father after they had done, *Whether he had not the Queſtions and Anſwers they had repeated to admiration, in Writing:* The Father having imagin'd, that the Emperor might be deſirous to ſee the Catechiſm, was provided with one, which he preſented to him immediately; and the Emperor having read it over before he ſtirred, extolled it to the Skies as the Maſter-Piece of *Ethiopia*.

The Viceroy's Brother-in-Law, and Companion in the Government during *Jacob*'s Minority, *Rays Athanates*, entered likewiſe *into a cloſe Friendſhip* with the Father, making *his Court to him*, by ſending every day almoſt for his Two Boys to come and ſay *their Catechiſm before* him, and extolling their Performance and their Maſter's dexterity beyond either the Emperor or the Viceroy: *Now if Two Boys having*

Father *Peter* is highly Compl'emented by the King and the whole Court.

ving been taught to say their Catechism well, was the Foundation of the great favour the Father was in at Court; it is the only instance in History perhaps of the favour of a whole Court's having been obtained by so slight a business.

The Emperor having read the Catechism several times over, was so *charmed* with it, that nothing would satisfy him, but the Father's Celebrating the *Roman* Mass in his hearing; which he did, with all the Solemnity that a single Priest in his circumstances could do it; and after Mass, gave him a Sermon of an hour long; but happening as he was drawing to a conclusion, to say *that he had a great deal more to add, were it not that he was afraid of being tedious to his Majesty*; the Emperor sent him a Message *to go on, for that he should take great pleasure in hearing more from him*: Whereupon the Father gave him *half an hour more*. The Emperor was so well satisfied both with *the Mass* and the *Sermon*, that he sent the Father his Dinner from his own Table; and having called him to him in the Evening, he enquired of him, concerning the signification of every particular Ceremony and Vestment that he had made use of in the Mass, appearing to be extreamly well pleased with all the Father's Answers: A little time after the Empress Dowager, *Mariam Zima*, coming to Court, desired to hear the Father say Mass and Preach; and having heard him, commended both the Mass and Sermon extreamly, declaring, *That she could be content to live in a desert all her days with so Godly a man as Father* Peter: So that the Father had now *got all the Three*

late

late Governors at his Devotion; who, as is probable from the ſequel of the Story, *had a great mind to be governing again, which they knew a few* Portugueſe *Troops would help them to with eaſe at any time.*

As for the Emperor, he was either not ſenſible of *this Plot*, or elſe he endeavoured to *countermine* them, by *careſſing* the Father as much as they could do for their Lives: And ſo one day when the Father was to preach before him, the *Chair* he uſed to ſit in when he preached, happening to be *out of the way*, the Emperor ordered *his own Chair of State to be carried to him*; and having ſeated himſelf on the Ground, ſaid, *That it was not reaſonable for the Preacher and Maſter to ſtand, and the Hearer and Scholar to ſit*; and after having thanked the Father for his good Diſcourſe, he told him, *That now his name was high in* Ethiopia, *he would adviſe him as a friend, to be careful how he did any thing whereby he might forfeit the opinion the world had of his Wiſdom and Holineſs*; *For, ſaid he, the fleſh is always fighting againſt us, and overcomes us many times before we are aware*: for which good admonition the Father kiſſed his hand, and having returned him many thanks, promiſed him always to remember it.

The Emperor having ſent for the Father one day, after having ſhut himſelf up with him, and his Favourite *Habitucum Laca Mariam*, in his Cloſet, required him to ſwear upon the Croſs not to divulge the ſecret he was about to impart to him; which the Father having done, he told him, *That being now fully con-*

The Emperor discovers his intention to Father *Peter* to turn *Roman*-Catholick.

convinced that the Pope was the Head and Universal Pastor of the Church, he was resolved to submit himself to him, and to desire him to send a Patriarch with a competent number of Friars into Ethiopia *to instruct his People in the true Faith.*

The Father, who was overjoyed to hear these words from the Emperor, threw himself at his feet, wishing him a long life, that he might be able to accomplish a design that would be so much to the benefit of his own Soul, and the Souls of his People. In pursuance of which Resolution, the Emperor is said to have prepared an Edict, prohibiting *the observation of* Saturday, *and of divers other* Habassin *Rites, and to have been for running on so furiously, to introduce Popery into his Empire*, that Father *Peter* found himself obliged in policy to give a check to his Zeal, by telling him, *That it would be safer and better to proceed more slowly, for fear of ruining his great design by Precipitation.* The Emperor asked him with heat, *Why he was against his making haste to introduce the true Faith into his Kingdom? What, did he think his Subjects would murther him for attempting to do it?* Adding, *What if they should, do you think I can lose my life for a better Cause?* The Father made answer, *That though to lose his life on such an account, would be a great Mercy and Honour to his Majesty; yet it would not be so, but an irreparable loss to his Subjects in such a Juncture.* Here *Luca Mariam* interposed, and told the Emperor *the Father loved him, and had given him good advice*; but the Emperor interrupting him, said, *Come, come, we must lose no time,*

time, here are Letters I have writ to the Pope and the King of Portugal *concerning this Affair*; and having put them into the Father's hands, he desired him to translate them into the Languages of those Courts; which Letters, tho they were never sent, the Emperor having been slain in the Field before any opportunity offered, I shall here set down.

The Emperor's Letter to the Pope.

THE *Letters sent by* Asnaf Segued, *Emperor of* Ethiopia, *do come to the much Honoured Father and Humble Pastor the Godly and Holy Clement, Pope of the Noble City of* Rome. *Peace be with your Holiness, the Peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who did partake of Poverty with the Poor, and of Honour with the Honourable; Preserve your Holinesse's Life and Person as the apples of Eyes,* Amen. *How is your Holiness? Hear, Sir, what we write.*

After we had ascended the Throne, a certain Friar whose name is Peter Pays, *of the Society of Jesus, and who hath the Yoke of the Law of Christ upon his neck, did visit us; and has given us a very particular account how your Holiness labours even to the shedding of your blood to destroy Sin; may the Eternal God, who has begun this work, bring it to an happy Issue: We being informed that your Holiness does never walk out of the Paths of truth, we rejoiced much at it; Praise be to God who hath given us a good Pastor, who guards the folds with his Holiness, and judgeth the poor with truth. He hath likewise told us, that you are always ready to assist Christians that are in necessity; and to afford them Strength and Comfort, having*

having learnt the Leſſon of Saint Paul, *who in his Epiſtle to the* Galatians *ſaith,* While we have time, let us do good unto all, but chiefly to thoſe of the Houſhould of Faith; *for which reaſon your Holineſs aſſiſts Chriſtian Kings chiefly. Wherefore ſince God hath been pleaſed to beſtow on us the Empire of our Fathers, we are deſirous of entering into a ſtrict Friendſhip with you, and with our Brother* Philip *King of* Spain: *And in order to make it the cloſer and more laſting, we do wiſh* that he would ſend his Daughter hither to be married to our Son, *and with her ſome Soldiers to help us: For we have Infidel Enemies called* Galls, *who when we go againſt them, flee before us; but ſo ſoon as our back is turned, are making inroads upon us again. For the deſtruction of this Enemy it is that we deſire to have ſome troops from you, with Artificers of all Trades, and Fathers to inſtruct us, that we may be of one heart and one body; and that the faith of Chriſt which is deſtroyed by the hands of Infidels, may be eſtabliſhed, and that there may be peace and love among us.*

This was formerly deſired by our Anceſtors, but it did not pleaſe God it ſhould be accompliſhed in their times; but the Turks, *who then hindered it, may now with eaſe be driven out of the Iſland of* Matzua; *for which reaſon we intreat your Holineſs to recommend this our requeſt to our Brother, deſiring him to comply therewith, and to execute it ſpeedily. We do not trouble your Holineſs with many words, being well aſſured of your readineſs to grant what we ſhall deſire. See that the Fathers you ſend hither be learned and holy, that ſo they may be able to inſtruct us in whatſoever is neceſſary to our*

Souls,

Souls; I shall add no more, a few words being enough to the wise.

The Emperor of *Ethiopia*'s Letter to the King of *Spain*.

THE *Letter writ by the Emperor* Asnaf Segued, *cometh to our Brother* Don Philip *King of the Kings of* Spain. *Peace be with your Majesty: The Peace and Love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Sign of the Holy Cross, be always with your Majesty. How is it with you? As I returned from the War to the place where I was to reside all the Winter, a certain Father, whose Name is* Peter Pays, *of whose Learning and Piety I had heard before, came to visit me; I was very glad to hear the account he gave of the state of your Majesty's Health, and the welfare of your Kingdoms, and did return Thanks to God for having given you such Prosperity, that none of your Enemies are able to disturb it: May our Lord increase the number of your Majesty's years, and bring what he hath begun to an happy issue.*

Hear, Sir, your Majesty is not ignorant, that in the days of the Emperor Asnaf Segued, *when a certain* Mahometan, *called* Granhe, *invaded* Ethiopia, *and destroyed all our Churches, a Confederacy was concluded and confirmed by an Oath betwixt our two Crowns; and that when my Ancestors sent to* John *King of* Portugal *for some Succors, he sent us some which were Commanded by* Don Christopher de Gama, *and which in conjunction with our Army, Conquered that* Mahometan. *The High and Mighty God, who exalteth*

alteth the humble, and throws down the proud, being our helper: After which there was Peace and Quietneſs, the force of the Mahometan, *who had not the fear of God before his Eyes, being broken in pieces.*

The Portugueſes *remained among us in great Honour, wanting for nothing till the day of their Death, as their Poſterity do not to this day.*

Wherefore we being Chriſtians *no leſs than our Anceſtors, and under the obligation of the ſame Oath, we ought to have the ſame Enemies, that is, the* Galls, *who deſtroy our Lands, and who when we go againſt them with our Armies, do run away from us; but ſo ſoon as our back is turned, do, as* Banditti, *make inroads into our Empire; for which reaſon we do deſire your Majeſty to ſend us ſome Soldiers, and with them* your Daughter to be Married to our Son, *by which means our Alliance will be firmer, and we ſhall be one Body, and of one Heart:* Our Son is Seven years Old, *and* your Daughter, *as we are informed,* is but Three; *ſo they ſhall be bred together with the milk of Wiſdom, and ſhall be taught the Holy Scriptures. I do alſo wiſh that your Majeſty would with your Troops ſend me* Artificers *of all Profeſſions, and that you would do it ſpeedily; that ſo being united in the Faith of Chriſt, there may be Peace and Love betwixt us; and that this Empire, which is the* Land of our Lady, *and of* Chriſt our Redeemer, *may not be loſt. The* Mahometans *are extreamly Zealous for their Sect, and do whenever there is occaſion help one another; and ought not your Majeſty to do the ſame for your Faith, which is above all?*

As

As to what we write to you concerning your sending your Daughter *hither, you are not to think that we desire her for any other end, than to establish an Alliance between us, and that she may be a pledge of Peace for the future. May God, who can do all things, fulfil our wishes.*

Hear farther, Brother, in order to the establishment of our Affairs; Do you send a Viceroy to the Island of Matzua, *and my General shall be at the same time at* Arkiko *on the* Continent; *by which means we shall bridle the Power of the* Turks; *and being Masters of those parts, we will send our Merchants with all sorts of Goods and Provisions into your Conquests, and will divide the Customs between us; our Countrey is very Rich, and wants for nothing; and the reason why we have not hitherto sent any Merchants to these parts with Provisions of* Honey, Gold, *and* Slaves, *is because we have a mind to pinch the* Turks, *for whom we have no kindness; but when your Viceroy is once come with his* Portugueses, *we shall quickly send Merchants to them with all sorts of Commodities. May our Lord God bring what we desire, and what is grateful to your Majesty, to a happy issue, that so the Power of the* Turk, *which is a great Stone of Scandal, may be utterly broke.*

It does not appear by these Letters that the Emperor was in such a violent fit of Zeal, when he wrote them, for a *Roman* Patriarch, and for submitting his Church to the Pope immediately, as he is reported to have been in when he delivered them to Father *Peter*; for though in both of them he writes very earnestly *to have the Infanta, and some Troops* sent

ſent with all poſſible expedition, he does not ſay one word of his Church's ſubmiſſion, or of a *Romvn* Patriarch: And in caſe Father *Peter*, when he *acquainted the Emperor with the* Infanta's *Age, did, to make his Court the better, feed him with hopes of obtaining her for* his black Prince, *it was no more than what his Countreyman* Gundamore *did here in* England, *either with the ſame* Infanta, *or her Siſter, and the reſtitution of the* Palatinate.

It might have been expected, that Father *Peter*, now he had brought the Emperor to be a *Bigot* for Popery, beyond what he deſired, ſhould have ſtuck cloſe to him till he had done the work, and that no ſmall matter ſhould have made him to have left the Court, where his preſence was ſo neceſſary; but whatever was the true cauſe of it, the Father all of a ſudden deſires leave of the Emperor to go to *Nanina*, a place two days journey from the Court, pretending to be called thither by extraordinary buſineſs; and when the Emperor, who was very unwilling to part with him, would needs know what this extraordinary buſineſs was, he told him, *There was a* Portugueſe *or two Sick at that place, and that he muſt needs go and hear their Confeſſion before they died*: The Emperor finding the Father was not to be perſuaded out of his journey, allowed him two Months, which he reckoned was time long enough for the hearing of two Confeſſions, to be abſent from Court. But the Father, who had left the main body of the *Portugueſes* not a year before without any Confeſſor, to go to Court with the

Father *Peter* withdraws from Court upon a ſlight pretence.

the Viceroy of *Tigre*, had not left the Court above a Month, when the true cause of his retiring broke out in a Rebellion, that was Headed by his good Friend *Raz Athanateus*, the *Habassin* Earl of *Warwick*, who having upon a disgust, taken the Crown off *Jacob*'s Head and placed it on *Za Danguil*'s, was now for taking it from *Za Danguil* again, being displeased with him for preferring *Luca Mariam* to him. *So hard a matter it is for Princes to please People, who either have, or think they have been instrumental in helping them to their Crowns.*

A Rebellion breaks out presently after.

But whatever it was that had disposed the People for a new Revolution, whether the Emperor's *Male-administration of Affairs*, or only *an itch for the Festivity of a new Acclamation*, or a *false compassion for the deposed Emperor*; it is certain *Za Danguil* was deserted by the main body both of the Grandees and People; neither would they be satisfied unless they had *Jacob* restored to his Throne again.

But *Za Danguil* being a Prince of great Courage, resolved they should not *have the Crown but with his Head*; and having made up a small Army, marched directly towards the Rebels, who, as he was informed, were encamped on the banks of the *Nile*.

Nanina, where Father *Peter* continued still, confessing *his two* Portugueses, happening to be in the Emperor's way as he marched, he sent for the Father to come and speak with him; and when he saw him, he cried out, *Alas! your Reverence sees what they are doing to me for endeavouring to shew them the way of Truth, and*

The Emperor marcheth against the Rebels.

becauſe I will not ſuffer the great to Oppreſs the ſmall; What would you adviſe me to do in this caſe? The Father is ſaid to have been ſorry to ſee him with ſo ſmall an Army; and having comforted him as well as he could, to have adviſed him *to put his truſt in God, and to avoid coming to a Battel.* It is ſaid farther, that he offered to have gone along with him; but having told him at the ſame time, *That his Spiritual Patients were not yet recovered,* and that he was buſie, repairing the Chappel the *Portugueſes* had in that Village; the Emperor bid *him ſtay, and go on with his good Works, but be ſure to recommend him to God in his Prayers*; and after two Months were expired, not to fail, where-ever he ſhould be, to come to him.

The Emperor hearing that *Athanateus,* who muſt have left the Court much about the ſame time with Father *Peter,* had not as yet joined his Troops with thoſe of *Za Selaſſe*; whoſe pretence for Rebelling *was Religion being in danger*; endeavoured to have got between them, ſo as to have hindered their conjunction; but *Athanateus* having had notice of this deſign, defeated it, by paſſing the River *Nile* ſooner than otherwiſe he intended to have done: Upon this deſign miſcarrying, for want of having been kept ſecret, or by having been communicated to ſome of *Athanateus* Friends that were about the Emperor; *John Gabriel,* who commanded all the *Portugueſes* that were in the Imperial Army, adviſed the Emperor to delay coming to a Battel, and the rather becauſe the Heads of the Rebels were men of ſuch different

different designs, that it was not likely that they could hold long together; but the Emperor pushed on by his own natural Courage, and provoked by the Insolency of the Rebels, was deaf to this advice, and so did not only March directly towards them, but did offer them Battel so soon as he came up with them; and notwithstanding Seventy of his best Troopers, who, I doubt, were *Portugueses*, before a stroke was struck, went over to the Enemy, that did not hinder the Emperor from engaging with them; the fight was bloody for some time, the Victory continuing doubtful, till the Emperor, as he was fighting in Person more like a Heroe than a General, was Slain; upon whose fall, his Men reckoning that they had then nothing to Fight for, threw down their Arms, and cri'd out for Quarter. Those of the *Portuguese* Blood on both sides, are said to have done Miracles on this occasion; but we have had so *many of those Miracles in* Gama's *Expedition, that it would make the Reader sick to trouble him with any more.*

The Emperor is Killed Fighting.

There are said to have been Two hundred of the *Roman* Catholick Profession in the Two Armies; which if it was so, it ought to have obliged Father *Peter* to have gone with the Emperor, to have Confessed those that were in his Army before they engaged, rather than to have staid behind to do it to Two of that Profession, and whom he had then been Confessing for above Six Weeks.

But as we know little of what the *Jesuits* did in *Ethiopia, but from their own reports*; *so if any thing be brought to light in the managing of these Missions that does not make much for the honour of their Order, the discovery thereof must be owing purely to the irresistible power of truth, which, though never so artificially disguised, will still give some glimpses of it self.*

The Emperor, though not *actually reconciled* to the Church of *Rome* when he was slain, is said for his *good inclinations* to it, to have had a *Miracle wrought on his Body*; *it was not to bring him to life again*; which the Emperor who took it out of the Earth to give it a more honourable Enterment, would have been very sorry should have been the effect of his Piety; but the *Miracle was, That his Body when taken out of the Ground Ten years after it had been lodged in it, was found intire:* A plain evidence, saith a Jesuit, *of the integrity of his Faith, Death not being strong enough to exercise its tyranny on a body which had been so incorrupt in all matters of Justice.*

As to Father *Peter*'s lamenting the Emperor's Death so much as he does in a Letter, I do not take that to be any argument at all *of his not having been privy to the Conspiracy, but of the Conspirators having either carried things farther than he would have had them, or perhaps than they themselves at first intended, or of his having been too far engaged therein by his first Patron, the Viceroy of* Tigre, *before he saw the Court, to go back with honour or safety.*

Athanateus amidst the triumphs of his Victory, was not unmindful of his Friend Father *Peter,*

Peter, but writ to him to repair immediately to his Camp, promising to grant him every thing that he should desire of him: The Father, his two Spiritual Patients being either Dead or quite Recovered by this time, accepted readily of the invitation, and being come to *Athanateus*'s Camp, was received by him with extraordinary Kindness and Respect.

Father *Peter* repairs to the Victorious Rebels.

But the Father after he had been some time among the Rebels, finding their Heads strangely divided how they should dispose of the Crown now they had it in their hands, some of them being for restoring it to *Jacob*, and others for giving it to *Suseneus*, a Bastard Son of *Faciladas*, the Third Son of the Emperor *David*; he judged it his safest course to retire to *Fremona*, there to wait till he saw where the Crown would fix; and having received advice of the arrival of some Jesuits at *Fremona*, that furnished him with a fair pretence for leaving *Athanateus* to go thither, to learn what news they brought from the *Indies:* And having got *Athanateus*'s promise, That the *Portugueses* who were in the Emperor's Service should not be punished with the loss of their Estates, which they were reckoned to have forfeited, he took his leave of him for some time.

Finding them divided, he retires, to wait to see where the Crown would fix.

The Father when he came to *Fremona*, found the Two Jesuits there, who were to have come along with him from *Dio*; and within a few days after, Two Fathers more came to him, who were Father *Lawrence* an *Italian*, and Father *Luis* a *Portuguese*; so that the Jesuits

were now as ſtrong as ever in *Ethiopia*, only they wanted a Patriarch.

Father *Peter*, during this his retirement, is ſaid to have taken a great deal of pains to little purpoſe, with an *Habaſſin* Monk to convert him to the *Roman* Church; but what the Father could not do, was done one Night by a dream the Monk had; which was, *That he ſhould certainly be damned if he did not go preſently and confeſs himſelf to the Father*: Whom we ſhall leave *confeſſing* his *dreaming Convert*, and return to ſee what the Rebels are doing.

The Grandees are divided, ſome being for reſtoring *Jacob*, others for Crowning *Suſeneus*, and ſome for themſelves.

The Grandees, tho they all agreed to pull down the late Emperor, yet when they came to fill the Throne again, fell all in pieces, ſome being for reſtoring *Jacob*, and others for proclaiming *Suſeneus*, without ſo much as once mentioning the Son of the late Emperor, being afraid, it is like, *to put the Son in the Throne they had dragged the Father out of.*

This *Suſeneus*, as has been obſerved, was a natural Son of *Faciladas*, the Viceroy of *Gojam*, the Third Son of the Emperor *David*. He had been moſt of his time in Arms, not againſt the Emperors, but their Miniſters, who he pretended had unjuſtly deprived him of the Lands that were left him by his Father; by which courſe of life he was become the beſt Captain, and had got a ſmall body of the beſt Diſciplined men in *Ethiopia* under his Command.

Suſeneus proclaims himſelf Emperor.

Upon the preſent Vacancy of the Throne, *Suſeneus*, looking upon his own title to it to be the ſame with that of *Jacob*'s, who was a baſtard no leſs than he, ſends his Confident *Bella Chri-*

Chriſtos, to *Raz Athanateus*, to acquaint him with his intention of pretending to the Crown, and to try if he could perſuade him to declare for him, making vaſt promiſes of what he would do for him if he would help him to it.

Athanateus, who upon ſome heats which had happened between them, had left *Za Selaſſe*, who was altogether for reſtoring *Jacob*, received *Suſeneus*'s Meſſage but coldly, which makes it probable that he was for ſetting up himſelf, being incouraged to do it by ſome promiſes that had been made him of *Portugueſe* Succors; but *Suſeneus* apprehending that it would be ſo, followed the Meſſenger he ſent to *Athanateus*, in Perſon with his Army; and being come within a days March of him, ſent him word, that if he did not declare for him preſently, he would viſit him next day, and did not doubt but to give him cauſe to repent of his Irreſolution. *Athanateus* being ſenſible that he could neither avoid coming to blows with *Suſeneus*, nor was ſtrong enough to deal with him, ſubmitted and joined with him in proclaiming him Emperor: Upon which reinforcement, *Suſeneus* diſpatched a Courier to *Za Selaſſe*, and his Confederates, to acquaint them with his being now *proclaimed Emperor of* Ethiopia, *commanding them upon their Allegiance, and as they loved themſelves and their Countrey, to lay down their Arms, and ſubmit themſelves peaceably to him.*

Za Selaſſe, who was a turbulent man, and cared *for no Emperor that was not of his own making, nor for them long neither*, was much ſur-

prized at this brisk Message; and having called a Council of War, to consider what was best to be done in this juncture, it was unanimously agreed that they should send *Suseneus* back word, *that they had sent for the Emperor* Jacob, *and were every day expecting him, to resume the Crown he had been so unjustly deprived of.* *Suseneus*, tho much troubled at this answer, sent them a Second Message immediately, to acquaint them, That *since God had been pleased to bestow the Crown upon him, he was resolved never to part with it, but with his life, neither to* Jacob, *nor to his Father* Malac Sagued, *if he should rise from the Dead and pretend to it.*

Za Selasse, detaining this Second Messenger Prisoner, went himself with his Army to return an answer to *Suseneus*; who having received advice of his advancing towards him, and knowing himself not to be strong enough to give him Battel, retreated to the Mountains of *Amara*, leaving *Athanateus* to shift for himself; and to make the best terms he could with the Confederates; who upon his having pleaded, that he was constrained much against his will to give his consent to *Suseneus* being proclaimed Emperor, was not only pardoned by them, but was restored to his former Post in their Army; which having waited some Months, and no *Jacob* appearing among them, the Soldiers began to Mutiny, telling their Officers plainly, *That they would wait no longer for a Milksop, who had neither the wit to keep a Crown when he had it, nor the courage to come to have it restored to him again.* *Za Selasse*, not knowing what to say for *Jacob*'s not having come all that time;

Upon *Jacob*'s delaying to come to the Army, he is chose Emperor by them.

time, and fearing leſt the Soldiers and Officers might declare *Suſeneus* Emperor without him, reſolved to be before-hand with them, and to have the thanks of doing it himſelf: And accordingly he diſpatched a Courier immediately to *Suſeneus*, to invite him to come and take the Empire upon him, *promiſing to maintain him in the poſſeſſion thereof with the laſt drop of his blood.* *Suſeneus*, tho overjoy'd at the News, did not care to truſt his perſon with the Army, without ſome farther aſſurance of their good intentions, than *Za Selaſſe*'s word; And for his farther ſatisfaction in that matter, he ſent an eminent Monk to the Army, with a Commiſſion to adminiſter an Oath of Allegiance to them; and according to the cuſtom of *Ethiopia*, to Excommunicate all that ſhould hereafter withdraw themſelves from his Obedience.

A Meſſage is ſent to him by the Army.

The whole Army having taken the Oath, the Monk after having pronounced an Excommunication upon it, returned to *Suſeneus* with the good news of his being unanimouſly Sworn Emperor with all the uſual Solemnities; and with the Monk there went Ten of the chief Officers from the Army, to invite the Emperor to make all the haſte he could to come to them. The Ten Commiſſioners from the Army found *Suſeneus* advanced to a place called *Begameder*, where they delivered their Meſſage to him, with this aſſurance, *That the Army now it had placed the Crown on his head, would maintain it there, againſt all pretenders whatſoever, particularly* Jacob.

But

The Army upon receiving a Letter from *Jacob*, changeth its mind, and declare for him.

But while the Commissioners were giving *Suseneus* these assurances of the good Affection and Fidelity of the Army, *Za Selasse* received a Letter from *Jacob*, acquainting him with his being come as far as *Dembea*, and desiring him to March the Army that way to meet him; *Za Selasse* was put into a great plunge by this Letter, not knowing what he had best to do, whether continue firm to *Suseneus*, to whom he had so lately taken an Oath of Allegiance, or to follow his inclinations in declaring for *Jacob*; and having called all his Confidents together, and laid the whole matter before them, they came to a resolution to *declare themselves for* Jacob, *and did so*, commanding him *to be proclaimed Emperor thorough the Army, and the Army to march to meet him*: The Officers and Soldiers, who had scarce done Swearing to *Suseneus*, were no less than *Selasse* for laying him aside, and adhering to *Jacob*, now they heard he was coming to them, as their rightful and undoubted Emperor. *Za Selasse* having commanded the Army to March, sent a Courier in great haste to the Commissiomers that were with *Suseneus*, to acquaint them with the Army's having declared for *Jacob*: Upon which notice, Eight of them stole from *Begameder*; but the other two being stopped, paid for all, being put to Death publickly as Traitors.

Suseneus not finding himself strong enough to fight *Selasse*, retreated upon this News to his former Fastness, not despairing but that ere long he might be in a capacity of chastising those that had betray'd him thus.

Jacob

Jacob was met by the Army near the Lake of *Dembea*, which together with the whole Countrey ſtrived *to atone for their former ill uſage of him by the extravagancy of their Joy, and Acclamations upon his reſuming the Crown.* But among all the Grandees, *Raz Athanateus*, his old Governor, was the moſt graciouſly received by him, being put immediately into places of the greateſt Truſt and Honour about him; Who, as he was one day diſcourſing with the Emperor, took occaſion to recommend Father *Peter* to him, as a Perſon of extraordinary Abilities; and who, if he would employ him, was capable of doing him great Service; acquainting him likewiſe with *Za Danguil*'s having a little before his Death writ Letters to the Pope and King of *Spain* for ſome *Portugueſe* ſuccors. *Jacob* comes to the Army.

The Emperor upon *Athanateus* having recommended Father *Peter* to him ſo highly, ſent a Courier to *Fremona*, to invite him to Court. The Father taking two *Jeſuits* more with him, repaired thither immediately, and was very graciouſly received by the Empreſs *Mariam Cima*, who was now likewiſe in great power again; as he was by the Emperor alſo when he returned to the Camp, which he had been abſent from for ſome weeks.

The Emperor is ſaid to have had ſeveral Conferences with the *Fathers about Religion*; and to have been perſuaded by them into the belief of the *Roman* Church *being the Head and Miſtreſs of all other Churches*; promiſing when he returned from an Expedition he was then going

ing upon, to submit himself to her; and as an earnest of his Affections for the *Portugueses*, he bestowed better Lands upon them than those they had before.

Jacob makes *Suseneus* great offers, provided he would give over pretending to the Crown.

Jacob, being sensible of *the fickleness of the Affections of his people*, and of *the greatness of* Suseneus's *Spirit*, who still continued to look upon himself, and act as Emperor, made him very honourable Propositions, upon condition that he would give over pretending to the Crown; and would promise to live quietly as became a good Subject; offering him by the Mediation of his Mother, *the Viceroyship of the Kingdoms of* Amara, Olear, *and* Xoa; *together with all the Lands that his Father had dyed possessed of, which was all that he had pretended to in the former Reigns.*

Suseneus will have the Crown or nothing.

But *Suseneus* having *wore the Crown, found such charms in it, that nothing under it could now satisfy him*; so his answer to *Jacob*'s Proposition was, *That since it was God and not men that had bestowed the Crown upon him, he only that gave it should take it from him*; *being resolved, so long as he had a head to wear it, to keep it on it.* *Jacob* finding by this bold answer, that his Controversy with *Suseneus* must be decided *by the Sword*, and not *by Treaty*, Marched against him with a great Army; but *Suseneus* hearing of his advancing towards him with a power much Superior to his, both in Number and Strength, retired again to the Mountains, where he knew there was no attacking him, but upon such disadvantages, as would make their Forces to be equal.

Jacob

Jacob being informed thereof, divided his Army, in order to cut *Suſeneus* off from all Communication with the low Countries from whence he was to be ſupplied with all neceſſary Proviſions; hoping by that means either *to ſtarve* him, *or bring down his ſtomach.* But *Suſeneus* finding that there was no remedy, but that he muſt either venture out, and fight, or ſtarve among the Mountains (to treat *of ſubmitting being a thing he would never once ſuffer to enter into his thoughts*) he reſolved on the former; and being adviſed of *Za Selaſſe* being poſted with half of the Army near *Montadefer*, he ſallied out of his Faſtneſſes upon him, and like another *Scanderbeg*, cut moſt of his troops in pieces, as they lay diſperſed in their Quarters; *Za Selaſſe* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped falling into his hands; who having carried the bad News of his own defeat to the Empeperor, was ſo coldly entertain'd by him, that he reſolved to deſert him, and go over to *Suſeneus*, as a perſon on whom he thought *Providence would one day or other certainly devolve the Crown.* And in purſuance of this reſolution, he diſpatched a Courier privately to *Suſeneus*, with the terms whereon he was ready to declare for him, and aſſiſt him in his pretentions to the Empire to the utmoſt of his power. *Suſeneus* was too ſenſible of how great advantage it would be to him, to gain ſuch a popular man as *Selaſſe* to his party, to deny him any thing that he deſired; and ſo notwithſtanding his terms were extravagantly high, he granted them all without making any words about them, *knowing that whenever he ſhould come to be*

Jacob marcheth towards *Suſeneus.*

be poſſeſſed of the Empire, Selaſſes's *turbulent Spirit would undoubtedly furniſh him with pretences to juſtifie his not making good his promiſes to him, in any particular that ſhould not be for his honour or ſafety to grant to him.*

Za Selaſſes's Courier being returned to him with a full grant of all that he had deſired of *Suſeneus*, and that not only under his own hand, but confirmed with the ſolemnity of an Oath, he withdrew himſelf privately from the Emperor's Camp, and having got into the Kingdom of *Gojam*, of which he had been made Viceroy a little before by *Jacob*, he there in a ſhort time got together a conſiderable body of Men, with which he Marched and joyned *Suſeneus*, who received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy and affection, as one ſent from Heaven to help him to the Empire, which he had ſet his heart ſo much upon, that he did not care to outlive the hopes of attaining it.

Jacob's General goes over to *Suſeneus*.

Suſeneus judging himſelf, with this Reinforcement, ſtrong enough to fight *Jacob*, Marched out of the Mountains to meet him, intending to decide their Quarrel by a pitch'd Battel; but when he came near *Jacob*'s Camp, finding him much ſtronger than he thought he had been, he changed his meaſures, reſolving to act only upon the defence.

But *Jacob* having now got his Enemy out of his Faſtneſſes, and knowing himſelf to be much ſuperior to him in number, for he is ſaid to have had Thirty to One, determined to fall upon him in his Camp, and having got between him and the Mountains, he com-

commanded the Signal for a general Assault to be given; which being observed by *Susneus*, he called all his Officers together, and told them, *That since it was not now possible for them to avoid a Battel, they must either resolve to make themselves Lords and Princes by fighting manfully, or be content to be Slaves so long as they lived*; *That for his part he was resolved either to Conquer, or not to survive the Battel, desiring them to Fight no longer than they saw him facing the Enemy*: *That if they would Sally out of their Trenches and fall upon the Enemy, which he took to be the best course, it being what the Enemy did not expect, he would lead them on in Person.* The Officers and Soldiers being strangely animated by this brisk Speech, gave a shout, and said, *They were ready to follow him whereso-ever he should lead them, or to go whereso-ever he would Command them.* *Susneus* glad to see his men in such a heat, did not give them time to cool, but marched, or rather rushed like a torrent upon the Enemy, disordering them so by the violence of the first shock he gave them, that they dispersed immediately, so that it was much more like a Slaughter than a Fight, the Conqueror having lost but Three Men in the Action; for *where-ever* Suseneus *appeared, the Enemy*, according as his Historian *Timo* reports, *fell before him as so many dry leaves off a fig-tree before the wind, or like a swarm of Locusts when they fall into the Sea.*

Jacob and *Suseneus* come to a Battel.

Jacob not caring, it's like, to live to be Deposed a second time, was killed fighting, as was also the *Abuna*, whom *Jacob* had carried with him to fulminate his Excommunications against his Enemies.

Jacob is Killed fighting.

Raz

Raz Athanateus, who had ſtuck to *Jacob* to the laſt, having made his eſcape, ſhut himſelf into the Monaſtery of *Dina*, where he continued till he had obtained his Pardon, which was procured by the New Emperor's Brother, *Raz Sela Chriſtos, the Heroe*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, of the Jeſuits Hiſtories.

Suſeneus, whom hereafter we are to call *Seltem Saged*, having Pardoned all that were in Arms againſt him, excepting the *Mahometan*, *Mahurdin*, who had killed the Emperor *Za Danguil* with his own hand, had all the Grandees inſtantly at his feet, and the acclamations of the common People as loud as his Predeceſſor.

The Fathers, during all the time of this broyl, kept cloſe at *Fremona*, expecting to ſee to whom the Crown would fall at laſt; and having received certain advice of *Seltem Saged*'s great Succeſs, and of his being proclaimed Emperor every where, they ſent two of their number to wait upon him, and Congratulate him upon his late Victory; Father *Peter*, who had been ſo very intimate with *Jacob*, not being looked upon as ſo fit a Perſon for to carry this Complement.

Two Fathers are ſent from *Fremona* to Congratulate *Suſeneus*, who took the Name of *Seltem Saged*.

The Two Fathers, whoſe Names were *Lawrence Romano*, and *Antony Fernandez*, were graciouſly received by the Emperor, who to do them the greater Honour commanded his Purveyor to ſend their Supper to them; and was afterwards ſo mindful of them, as to ask him whether he had ſent them any Wine; and being told, that by reaſon of the Wines being diſtributed among the Nobles before he was ordered

ordered to send them any thing, he had not; the Emperor was very angry, asking him, How he durst be guilty of such an Error? commanding him to go presently and carry his own portion of Wine to them, saying, *I will drink Water rather than they shall.* When the Fathers judged it proper, they went to wait upon the Emperor a second time; who after some Complements, asked them, *Where they resided?* And being told by them, *That they had no certain Habitation in* Habassia; He thereupon appointed them a Residence in a place near the *Lake of Dembea:* The Fathers having thanked him for his kind offer, told him, *That they would be better satisfied if he would be pleased to order their former Residence at* Gorgora, *which had been taken from them after they had built a Church there, to be restored to them again*; which he ordered to be done presently, commanding them *to write to Father* Peter, *of whom he said he had heard great things, to come to him*; but not being satisfied with having bid them do it, he sent an express to him himself, to come to Court immediately: The Father when he came was most graciously received by the Emperor; who every time the Father waited upon him, which he did daily, entered into a discourse with him about Religion.

The Emperor sends to Father *Peter* to come to him.

Father *Tellez*, though he would not take upon him to decide who had the best Title to the Crown, *Jacob* or *Suseneus*, sets down what was to be said on both sides: *Jacob*, saith he, *was undoubtedly nighest to the Crown in the Royal Line, in being the Son of* Malac Saged, *who was*

Emperor; he had beſides been Emperor himſelf for Seven years, and that with the Approbation of the People, who had alſo reſtored him after he had been Depoſed for ſome time; neither was his being a Baſtard any bar to him, ſince according to the Natural and Civil Law, a Baſtard may ſucceed his Father, as John *the Firſt of* Portugal *did his Father* Don Peter; *beſides,* Suſeneus *was a Baſtard no leſs than* Jacob. On the other ſide, ſaith *Tellez*, it may be alledged, *That* Jacob *having been depoſed to make room for* Za Danguil, *who was both the true Heir, and was choſen by the Grandees and People, upon* Danguil's *death the Throne became void, and the Election of an Emperor out of the Royal Family, devolved to the Commonwealth; whereupon* Suſeneus, *who was the Grandſon of an Infante, was choſen Emperor by the Army, upon* Jacob's *having delayed coming to them:* Concluding, *That whatever Princes Titles or Pretences in ſuch caſes may be in Speculation, according to the Practice of the World, he has the beſt Title that has the longeſt Sword.* But to return to the Fathers, who having ſtaid at Court till Winter, obtained leave to go to *Gorgora* to fix a Reſidence there; but they had not been gone a Month, before the Emperor writ to them to come to Court again, declaring that he could not be without their Company any longer: The Fathers obey'd the ſummons, and repaired to *Coga*, a place near the Lake of *Dembea*, where the Emperor at that time had his Camp. They were no ſooner arrived, but the Emperor gave them an Audience, and after that was over, ordered them

them to Dine with him, that is, in the ſame Room, though not at the ſame Table.

The *Portugueſes* give a tedious account of the particulars of this Entertainment; the main of which are, That the Emperor does not feed himſelf, but has his Meat put into his Mouth by his Pages; that his Diet was plain, and without any thing of Cookery; and that he had neither Knife, Spoon, Table-Cloth, nor Napkin, and had Bread for his Trencher; and never Drank till he had done Eating.

Father *Peter* and his Companions never miſſed the Emperor's *Levee*, the Emperor taking great delight to diſcourſe with them about Religion, and the difference that is between the *Habaſſin* and *Roman* Churches; which Conferences having continued for ſome time, the Emperor ſent one day to Father *Peter* to come to him alone; and being come he told him, That nowithſtanding he was convinced that he ought to ſubmit himſelf and his Empire to the Pope, yet it would not be ſafe for him to attempt it, before he had ſome aſſurance that the King of *Portugal* would aſſiſt him againſt thoſe who would oppoſe him in doing of it; That he intended therefore to write a Letter to the Pope, and another to the King about it. The Father having extolled his good intentions, encouraged him to write thoſe Letters, aſſuring him of as good an Anſwer to them as he could deſire.

The Emperor offers to write to the King of *Portugal* and the Pope, and is encouraged by Father *Peter* to do it.

The Emperor Seltem Saged's *Letter to the Pope.*

The Emperor's Letter to the Pope.

THE *Letter of the Emperor of* Ethiopia, Malac Eguet, *cometh to the holy Pope of* Rome, *with the Peace of our Lord Christ, who loved us, and washed us from our Sins in his blood, and hath made us a Kingdom and a Priesthood to God the Father: May this Peace be always with your Holiness, and the Catholick Church of Christ.* Amen.

We have for a long time had a great affection for the Christians of your parts, upon the account of the benefits this Empire received from them when it was formerly rescued by the Portugueses *out of the hands of* Mahometans, *and restored by them to its ancient estate and quiet; most of whose Race died in our Father's Reign, who was willing they should enjoy what his Ancestors had given them; whereupon so soon as, through God's Grace, I took the Government of the Empire upon me, I determined to renew our Alliance with the Faithful People of Christ, in order to remedy the manifest distractions our Empire of late years has been put into by the* Mahometans; *for notwithstanding we have subdued most of our Domestick Enemies, we have Enemies still that are much more Powerful, that is, the* Infidel Gauls, *who have Conquered a great part of our Empire, and destroyed many of our Churches, and which is worst of all, are daily Invading us, and exercising unheard-of Cruelties on Old Men, Widows, and Children,*

Children, whom we are not able to protect, without being assisted by our Brother the Emperor of Portugal; *We do therefore implore his aid, as our Ancestors did that of his Predecessors formerly; and that there may be no failure, we resolved to intreat your Holiness, who is the Father and Pastor of all faithful Christians, to write to our Brother, to grant us what we desire of him, before the* Gauls *grow stronger upon us.*

As to the landing of the Succors he shall send, it will be done without any danger, they that are the Masters of our Coast, being at this time very weak at Sea; so being assured that your Holiness will assist us according to our necessities, we will trouble you with no more words, but shall refer the relation of the state of our Empire, and of the kindness wherewith we Treat those of the Portuguese *race, and of the care we take of the Fathers and their Churches, to Father* Peter Pays, *to whom I have recommended the doing of it; and to whose account I desire you to give the same credit as you do to this Letter. We conclude, praying that our Lord Christ would preserve your Holiness for many Years for the good of the Catholick Church.*

Written in *Ethiopia* on the 14th of *October*, 1607.

The Emperor's Letter to the King of Spain.

His Letters to the King of *Spain.*

THE Letter sent by the Emperor Malac Eguet, *cometh to the Emperor of* Spain, *the Holy Land of St.* Peter, *the Prince of the Doctors and of the Catholick Church of our Lord, of which the Apostle St.* Paul *said,* I have betrothed thee to one man, to present thee a chast Virgin to Christ, To whom be glory; *and in imitation of the most pure Messenger St.* Gabriel, *who saluting our Lady the Virgin, said, The* Lord save thee; *and of Christ our Lord, who on the Evening of the Lord's-day after his Resurrection, said to his Apostles, being assembled together,* Peace be among you; *and as St.* Paul *writes in all his Epistles,* The Peace of our Lord be with your Majesty, *our Brother in the Faith, that was preached by St.* Peter, *at the time when our Lord Christ commanded his Apostles to go all* over the world, and preach the Gospel to all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. *How is your Majesty, and how is your Empire? we are in health thorough the Intercession of St.* Peter, *your and our Master. May Christ our Lord, who is the beginning and end of all things, carry on that Amity and Friendship which he hath begun between us.*

The principal cause of my writing to your Majesty at this time, is to renew the Familiarity and Correspondence which was between our Ancestors; which Friendship, together with the Adoption of the Holy Spirit, has much enobled us. Wherefore we desire

your

your Majesty, to send us some strong and stout Soldiers, to help us to beat the Enemy out of our Ports; your Troops when they arrive will find us provided with Arms, and all other necessary Provisions of War, and in a readiness to assist them to the utmost: It being much fitter that those Ports should be in your Majesty's hands, than in the hands of the greatest Enemies of our holy Faith; your Majesty's Ancestors sent an Army of Gallant men into Ethiopia *at a time when the Enemy was ready to have destroy'd our Faith, and Empire. We might destroy all our Enemies with great ease, if we were assisted by the powerful Kings that profess the Gospel; and who do comfort our hearts with the Memory of heavenly things, we being* all Sons of Heaven, *as St.* John *witnesseth, saying,* What is born of the flesh is flesh, and what is born of the Spirit is Spirit. *Furthermore we are at war with another Enemy, who are called* Gauls, *and who do give us much trouble: Wherefore we beseech your Majesty to send us some stout Troops, and such as are Zealous for our holy Apostolical Faith, and that with all possible Expedition: We on our part have for some time been ready to receive them; and if they were once come, it will quickly appear, that all that we design is feasible. For why, since Christ our Lord is our Common Head, and we are all his Members, and the Heavenly Father hath begot us all in one Womb of Baptism, and that not with corruptible seed, should we not be all tied in one chain of love with one Soul and one Body.*

If these Letters were writ by the *Habassin* Emperor, which I do very much doubt, they plainly discover that the Fathers chief Argu-

ment to perſuade him to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, was the promiſe of *Portugueſe* Troops; but the reaſon why I ſuſpect theſe Letters not to have been writ by the Emperor, but by ſome Miſſionary in the *Indies*, and who had never ſo much as been in *Ethiopia*, are, 1. *That* Seltam Saged, *or* Suſeneus's *Father, was never Emperor, as he is ſaid in theſe Letters to have been.* 2. Guerreiro, *in his relation of* Ethiopia, *printed at* Lisbon *in the Year* 1611, *ſets them down under the name of the Emperor* Jacob, *or* Malaſequet. 3. *Their Phraſeology, excepting an affected ſprinkling here and there of uncouth Phraſes, as alſo their Complements are ſo much* Spaniſh, *that an* Habaſſin *has not leſs of the air of a* Spaniard, *than they have of the Letters that were certainly known to have been writ by ſome of thoſe Emperors.* Laſtly, *Pereira* tells us, *That the* Habaſſin *Emperors from the time that the remains of* Gama's *Troops went over to the* Turks, *and aſſiſted them againſt* Ademas, *dreaded nothing ſo much, as the coming of* Portugueſe *Soldiers from the* Indies; *but whatever the Emperors did, there being nothing that the* Jeſuits *deſired ſo earneſtly, it is to be feared, that they made bold with the Emperor's name in the ſolliciting of them.*

These Letters were probably forged by ſome Miſſionary.

But there are more Letters behind, which whether genuine or ſuppoſititious, I ſhall ſet down; leaving them to the cenſure of the judicious Reader.

The

The Letter of Raz Athanateus *to the King of* Portugal.

Athanateus's Letter to the King of *Portugal.*

THE *Letter of Peace and Love, sent by* Athanateus, *cometh to the High and Powerful Emperor of* Portugal, *with the Peace of our Lord Christ, who was Crucified on the holy Cross for the Redemption of the World; May this Peace be always with your Majesty. The cause of my writing this Letter to you, is the earnest desire that the Emperor and I both have to see some* Portuguese *Troops in this Countrey; We do therefore most earnestly beseech your Majesty, to send us a Body of stout well-disciplin'd men, in order to there covering of our Ports, which are at this time in the hand of the Enemies of our Faith. When your Soldiers arrive, we will take care that they shall be supplied with Arms, and all other Necessaries. Your Majesty's Ancestors assisted us, when the* Mahometans *broke in upon us; and we do to this day remember what great things Christ wrought for us by their means; I must therefore a second time intreat your Majesty, to send us a Body of stout Soldiers, whom when they arrive, I shall be ready to receive with open Arms; and my mind gives me they will come at some time or other; concerning which affair, Father* Peter Pays *will write more at large to your Majesty.*

Written in *Ethiopia* the 13th of *December*, 1607.

The

The Letter of Raz Athenateus *to the Viceroy of the* Indies

His Letter to the Viceroy of the *Indies.*

THE *Letter of Peace and Love, ſent by* Athenateus, *cometh to the great Viceroy of the* Indies, *with the peace of our Lord Chriſt, who died on the holy Croſs for our Redemption; may that Peace be always with your Excellency, and your whole State.* Amen.

Hear, Sir, My Father was always a great friend to the Portugueſes *that came into theſe parts, having continually favoured them in all things, as I have done ever ſince his death, having on all occaſions aſſiſted them both with my Intereſt and my Purſe; and ſaved ſeveral of them when condemned to die, being willing to preſerve the remains of the firſt* Portugueſes *that came among us, until more ſhould come to them for the good of this Empire.*

I have had it for ſome years in my thoughts to write to you, but have ſtill been hindered by the Wars we have of late been ſo much embroiled in, out of which God has been pleaſed to deliver us at laſt, and to give us an Emperor of a Sound Judgment; and who governs all things with great prudence, who upon my acquainting him with the great need we ſtand in of Portugueſe *Succors, was pleaſed to write himſelf to the King of* Portugal *for ſome, commanding me to do the ſame, and to acquaint him, how much we deſire them, and how much their coming will be for God's Service. I muſt therefore intreat your Excellency, to lend us your*

your helping-hand in this affair, that ſo it may be brought to a ſpeedy Iſſue; Let there be at leaſt a Thouſand Soldiers ſent, and let it be done with all poſſible Expedition, for which Service you will have honour in the ſight of God, who will undoubtedly reward you for it; and were there but once a way opened for it, your Excellency ſhall want nothing that this Empire affords. I ſhall ſay no more, ſince Father Peter Pays, *who is acquainted with all my ſecrets, can diſcloſe my whole heart to you. May our Lord God bring all to an happy Iſſue, and grant your Excellency many years of Life.* Amen.

Had the *Jeſuits* been ſo kind as to have publiſhed thoſe Letters of Father *Peter*, that theſe refer to, we might then probably have known the true cauſe of that Father's having left *Za Danguil*'s Court ſo abruptly as he did; but however that were, it is plain from what *Athenateus* writes of the Father's being acquainted *with all his Secrets*, ſo as to be able to *diſcloſe his whole heart* to the Viceroy, that they two had been plotting together; ſo that had the Thouſand *Portugueſes Athenateus* wrote for ſo earneſtly, come, it is more than probable that he would have made uſe of them for his own Service; the getting the Ports of *Matzua* and *Arkiko* into the hands of the *Portugueſes*, and the erecting of *Tigre* by their Aſſiſtance into a Kingdom Independent of that of *Ethiopia*, being a thing the Fathers even when moſt in favour with the Emperors, were continually labouring to bring about: For *Athenateus* was not only never in favour with the Emperor, whoſe name he made uſe of in theſe

these Letters, but on the contrary, as the *Jesuits* themselves confess, he was reduced by him to the Miserable condition of a *probre escudero*, or *poor Waiting-man*: Neither is it unlikely that it was *Athenateus* having ruined himself and his Family, by intrieguing with the Fathers, that made him when he was upon his Death-bed reject their Assistance when they offered themselves to him; and that with indignation; *not caring, it is like, to have any thing more to do with people that had deceived him so often. Tho to do the Fathers Justice, it was none of their fault that the Soldiers did not come by the first fair wind after they had promised them.*

A Mock Emperor set up and Murthered.

But the *Habassin* Empire, notwithstanding all its late great bleedings, *was too full of bad humours to continue long quiet*: For *Seltam Saged* was not well warm in his Throne, when a Fellow *of base extraction* was set up for the Emperor *Jacob*; and though he is said not to have resembled him in the least, either *in Face or Person*, yet he *acted* him so well, that he was followed by vast Multitudes. This *Perkin*, after having cost *Ethiopia a vast quantity of blood*, was killed at last by some of the Grandees of his own Party, *being grown weary of maintaining a Mock Prince at so great a charge.*

Father *Peter* is said to have made himself very Popular on this occasion, by having persuaded the Emperor to pardon all the *Common People*, and most of the *Nobles* that had been engaged in this Rebellion; as likewise to Pardon a great herd of Peasants, who had provoked him more

more by their *Rudeneſs and Inſolence*, than by their having *taken up Arms againſt him.*

The Emperor having thus rid his hands of his Sham-Rival, removed his Camp from *Coja*, to a place called *Deqhana*, on the North-Side of the Lake of *Dembea*, which was not far from *Gorgora*, the new Reſidence of the *Jeſuits*; by which means the Fathers had daily opportunities of waiting on him, and of Diſcourſing with him about Matters of Religion. The argument of all others that perſuaded the Emperor the moſt effectually of the truth of Chriſt's having two Natures, was the Fathers ſhewing him a place in his own *Hamanot Abea*, a Book of the ſame nature with the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, wherein it was affirmed, That *that Doctrine was believed by all the Ancient Doctors of the Church*; and *that* Dioſcorus, *the Patriarch of* Alexandria, *was the firſt Biſhop that had ever denied it.*

The Emperor and his Brother *Ras Cella Chriſtos* convinced of Chriſt having two Natures.

Raz Cella Chriſtos, a Prince of great heat, and who was made Viceroy of *Gojam* by his Brother the Emperor at this time, was likewiſe convinced of the truth of that Doctrine by the ſame argument; and being once convinced of it, nothing would ſerve him but he would publickly declare himſelf a *Roman* Catholick upon it, reckoning that the Alexandrians *who had ſo groſly impoſed upon him in one particular*, had *Miſlead him in every point wherein they differ'd from the* Roman *Church*. He would gladly have made his Abjuration and firſt Confeſſion at the feet of Father *Peter*; but the Father not happening to be in the way when he

Cella Chriſtos turns a Zealous *Roman* Catholick thereupon.

he was called to go againſt the *Gauls*, who had made a great inroad into his Provinces, he would defer the doing of it no longer; and ſo made them at the feet of Father *Francis*, whom for that reaſon he ever after called his Maſter. Nevertheleſs after the Expedition was over, he made a general Confeſſion of his whole Life to Father *Peter*, and with it a Solemn and Publick Declaration of his reſolution to Live and Dye in the *Roman* Faith: His Example is ſaid to have been followed by moſt of his Officers, and by ſeveral of the Grandees of the Court.

In the year 1607. Father *Peter* having writ a Letter to the K. of *Spain*, to acquaint him with *Seltem Saged* being Eſtabliſhed in the Throne of *Ethiopia*, and to deſire him to ſend to Congratulate his acceſſion to it; and to thank him for his kindneſs to the Fathers; that King complied ſo far with the Father's requeſt, as in the Year 1609 to write the following Letter to the Emperor.

The King of *Spain*'s Letter to Emperor of *Ethiopia*.

MOST *Powerful Emperor of* Ethiopia, I Don Philip, *by the Grace of God King of* Portugal *and* Algarves, *Lord of* Guinea, *and of the Conqueſt*, Navigation *and* Commerce *of* Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia *and* India, *&c. Do ſend you much Health, as my Brother whom I love and prize much: Now ſince there has always been a good Correſpondence and Amity between the Emperors your Anceſtors, and the Kings of* Portugal, *to me it ſeemed juſt and fitting to write this to you, to let you know how much I rejoice at the News of your*

your acceſſion to the Empire, and ſhall always rejoice to hear of your Proſperity, being ready as occaſions ſhall offer to ſatisfy you in all things; and accordingly I have recommended your affairs to theſe my Kingdoms, and to my State of India, *and the Viceroy thereof, that they knowing how acceptable it will be to me, may be ſure to comply with all your deſires; and that this our Amity may continue, I do moſt paſſionately deſire you, to write all your News to me, as I ſhall do mine to you. I do earneſtly recommend the Friars that are in your Kingdom to you, which is my chief Obligation, namely, Father* Peter Pays, *deſiring that they no leſs than the* Portugueſes *may be Treated as it is reaſonable. Moſt Powerful Emperor, whom I love and prize as my Brother, May our Lord have your Royal Perſon and State in his holy Protection.*

Written at *Madrid* the 15th of *March*, 1609.

The Emperor is ſaid to have been very proud of this Letter, and the more becauſe it was writ before the King had received the Letter he is ſaid to have ſent to him in the year 1607. In the year 1611 the Emperor received the following Letter from the Pope, in anſwer to that he is ſaid to have writ to him in the year 1607.

Paul

Paul *the* Vth's *Letter to the Emperor of* Ethiopia.

To our most dear Son in Christ, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

The Pope's Letter to the same Emperor.

WE give thanks to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for having been so merciful to you, as to restore you to your Royal Throne, as you write he has done; We do Congratulate your success, and do commend you mightily for your Zeal in Defence of the Christian Faith, for which as we understand by your first and second Letters, you are very fervent: We have, according, to your desires, recommended the necessity of your Kingdoms to our most dear Son in Christ, Philip, *the Catholick and Powerful King of* Spain, *who we hope will be induced by his Magnanimity and Zeal for the Christian Faith, to assist you powerfully; having order'd our Apostolical Nuncio that is with his Catholick Majesty, to sollicit what you have desired with great diligence. What remains, dear Son, is to exhort you to persevere constantly and immoveably in the fear of God, and Stoutly and Zealously to defend the Christian name; and to continue always devoted to the holy* Roman *Catholick and Apostolick Church, your most loving Mother, as we in our Prayers which we make to God, before the Most holy Bodies of the Apostles, for our Sons the Christian Kings and Catholick Princes, shall always be sure to remember you, and to beg of him from whom all good things do proceed, that he would so enlighten*

enlighten your Understanding with the Light of his holy Spirit, that you may do his will; and from the inward Bowels of our Charity we do most tenderly give our Blessing to your Majesty.

Written at *Rome* at St. *Peter*'s, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 4th of *January*, in the Year 1611, and in the Sixth year of our Pontificate.

It is plain from this Letter, that the Popes do not stand so much upon their Punctilio's with remote Heretick Princes, as they do with those in *Europe* they reckon to be Hereticks. *Paul* in this Letter calling a Prince who was a Professed *Eutychian* Heretick, *his most dear Son in Christ*; a *Title* neither *Urban* would bestow upon *King James*, nor *Gregory* the *Fifteenth upon the Prince of* Wales, in their answers *to the unhappy Letters*, wherein those Princes had been so civil as to give them *the title of The most blessed Father.*

The Popes are civiler to remote Hereticks than Domestick ones.

The Emperor growing every day more and more inclinable to the *Roman* Church, for which his Brother *Cella Christos* had declared himself openly *a Champion, suffering none to be about him, that were not either actually of her Communion, or that appeared not to be well disposed* for it; did upon the Receipt of this kind Letter from the Pope, begin to think of Professing himself a *Roman* Catholick too; but being sensible that that could not be done without raising such a storm in his Empire, as it would not be possible for him to weather without *Portugueſe* Troops, He is said to have resolved to send an Embassy to the King of *Spain*, to Sollicit that Affair by the way

Embassadors are sent from *Ethiopia* to *Portugal.*

of *Melinde* and *Goa*. The persons named for this Employment were Father *Anthony Fernandes*, and one *Tecur Egzy*, an *Habassin* of Quality, by whom the following Letters were sent to the Pope.

The Emperor's Letter to the Pope.

The Letter of the Emperor Seltem Saged, *cometh with the Peace of the good Pastor* Jesus *to the Holy* Roman *Pope*, Paul *the* Vth. *the Head and Pastor of the Universal Church.*

Holy and Loving Father,

The Emperor's Letter to the Pope.

WE have received your Letter of January 1611, *which is full of that love wherewith a tender Father is inflamed when he receives a penitent Prodigal Son; and not having been able by reason of the sudden departure of the* India *Ships to return you an answer so soon as we desired, we have now determined to do it by another way, which we hope God will open unto us; and to that end we have sent Father* Antonio Fernandes, *of the Society of* Jesus, *who has for some time resided at our Court, and with him our Embassador* Tecur Egzy, *desiring that your Holiness may have speedy notice of our being brought by the preaching of the Fathers of the Society who are resident in our Empire, to the Knowledge of the truth of the faith of the Chair of the Blessed St.* Peter, *and of our being resolved to embrace the same, and to yield obedience to your Holiness as the Head of the Universal Church, so as for the future to be governed by a Patriarch of your sending; and that we may be put into a condition of yielding this obedience publickly,*

lickly, it will be neceſſary for us to have ſome Troops from Don Philip *the Powerful King of* Portugal, *without which we ſhall never be able to do it openly. We do therefore moſt humbly beſeech your Holineſs, that ſince as you have writ to us, you have been pleaſed to order your Apoſtolick Nuncio reſiding at his Catholick Majeſty's Court, to ſollicit this Affair with great diligence, that you will renew your Orders to him, that ſo they may be both effectually and ſpeedily executed, and ſo good an occaſion may not be loſt; and that in our days, and during his happy years, our Empire may find this neceſſary remedy. And ſince you are the Father of all Catholick Kings, hold us in the number of ſuch; and as you offer Prayers to God for them, before the moſt holy Bodies of the Apoſtles, do the ſame for us your humble Son.*

Written at our Court of *Dembea* on the 13th of *January*, 1613.

But as the Emperor's Brother, *Ras Cella Chriſtos*, was the chief promoter of this Embaſſy, ſo he likewiſe writ a Letter to the Pope by it, which was as followeth:

The Letter of Cella Chriſtos *Viceroy of* Gojam, *cometh with the Peace of the Eternal Father, to the Holy Father* Paul *the* Vth. *the chief Pontiff, the Succeſſor of St.* Peter, *and Head of the Church.*

Moſt Beloved Father,

Cella Chriſtos's Letter to the Pope.

IF *according to the Holy Scriptures, they who were far off are come near; I who was at a*

vaſt diſtance, am now brought near by the Preaching of the Fathers of the Society of Jeſus that reſide in this Empire; for I having been commanded by my Brother Seltem Saged, *my Lord the Emperor, to be preſent at ſeveral Conferences between the Fathers and our Learned men, I came at laſt to the Knowledge of the Truth of the Faith of the Chair of St.* Peter, *and of that Chair's being the Head of the Univerſal Church; which faith I thereupon embraced, and obliged my Brother the Emperor to do the ſame, and to yield obedience to your Holineſs: But whereas it is not poſſible for the Emperor to yield that obedience openly, until ſuch time as he ſhall have a Thouſand* Portugueſes *ſent by* Don Philip *the moſt Powerful King of* Spain *to be his Guards; and being informed that in the Letter your Holineſs did my Brother the honour to write to him, you ſignified that you had ordered your Apoſtolick Nuncio reſiding at the Court of his Catholick Majeſty, to ſollicit that Affair with extraordinary diligence; I took the confidence humbly to intreat your Holineſs, to bring it ſpeedily to a concluſion, that ſo that good work may be done during my Brother the Emperor's Life, and ſo glorious an occaſion of ſaving a loſt flock, and of reſtoring it to its true Paſtor, may not be loſt.*

Whenever the Soldiers come, they will find me prepared to die in my Saddle with them for the faith, if there ſhould be occaſion. I ſhall alſo with all my force labour to conſtrain others to embrace it, and to yield obedience publickly to your Holineſs; and in the mean time, I will do all I can to diſpoſe and incline our people to the faith which I am endeavouring at this time by tranſlating, with the aſſiſtance of the Fathers, the Commentaries of John Mal-

Maldonat *upon the Gospels; with an intention of translating several other Books after that is finished. Wherefore most blessed Father, let your Holiness look upon me as your Servant, who am resolved to defend your Apostolick See with my Sword, as well as with all the Learning I am Master of; to the doing whereof I shall be much enabled, by the Prayers which your Holiness shall command to be offered for me, your Humble Servant, before the most holy Bodies of the Apostles.*

Written at *Dembea* the 2d of *February*, 1613.

A particular account of the Embassador's Journey.

The way the Ambassadors were to take being setled, they begun their Journey in the beginning of *March* 1613, going first to *Gojam*, where they were kindly entertain'd for some time by the Viceroy; besides their *Habassin* Retinue, they were attended by Ten *Portugueses*; Six whereof were to accompany them only to the Kingdom of *Narea*, but the other Four were to go with them to the *Indies*. On the Fifth of *March* they departed from *Ombrana* with a strong Guard; and having Travelled Westward two days, they arrived at *Sinasse*, the chief Town of *Gongas*; where having in the Viceroy's name, demanded a Guard to conduct them to the *Nile*, it was deni'd them by the Infidels, the Natives of that Countrey being all such: Whereupon they dispatched a Courier presently to the Viceroy to acquaint them therewith, who immediately ordered three Companies of Soldiers to March to *Sinasse*; and after having Conveyed the Ambassadors safe to *Nile*, in their return to

chastise the *Gongazians* for their Insolence; but the Infidels having had Intelligence how much the Viceroy resented their disobedience, in order to pacify him, gave the Ambassadors a Guard, which waited upon them to *Minascet*, a Town that stands upon the winding which the *Nile* makes towards *Egypt*.

The Embassadors passed that River which was very high at that time, upon *Borachoes* or hides full of Wind: After which they Travelled directly South till they came to the Kingdom of *Narea*, whose Borders are about Fifty Leagues distant from that River. The *Cafres*, who are the Natives, though subject to the *Habassin*, disturbed them so much in their Journey, that they were forced to purchase a passage through the Country with trifling Presents.

Being arrived at *Gondas*, they were kindly entertained by the Governor, to whom the Viceroy had recommended them as his particular friends. *Narea* is the most Southern Country of *Ethiopia*, and is about Thirty or Forty Leagues in compass; its Inhabitants are reckoned to be the best and honestest sort of people in the whole *Habassin* Empire; they are well Shaped, and not very Black, and have thin Lips and long Noses; the Country is Fertile and Populous, and its chief Trade is in Slaves, in the Buying and Selling of whom its Merchants are said to be wonderfully honest. They were first Converted to Christianity by *Malac Saged*, to which they had always been well disposed.

They industriously are sent out of their way.

From

From *Gonda* the Embaſſadors went in Six days to the place where the *Xuma* or Viceroy of the Kingdom of *Narea* has his reſidence, by whom they were received very coldly, upon his being jealous that their buſineſs was *to bring a* Portugueſe *Army into* Ethiopia, *to force them to turn* Roman-*Catholicks*; *and having called together all his Officers* to conſult how to Defeat this pernicious deſign, it was agreed among them, that the beſt way to divert this ſtorm, was to perſuade the Embaſſadors to change their courſe, and to go to the *Indies* by the way of *Baly*, and the Cape of *Darfuy*, which they repreſented to be both the ſhorter and ſafer way than that the Court had Chaked out for them; knowing at the ſame time, that it would be impoſſible for them to Travel through the Countries which are in the road to *Daffuy*, ſeveral of them being ſubject to *Mahometan* Princes, who would not ſuffer any private Chriſtian, and much leſs Chriſtian Embaſſadors, to Travel through their Countries. *Baly* is a Kingdom that belonged formerly to the *Habaſſin*, but was then in the Poſſeſſion of the *Mahometans* and *Gauls*; it borders upon *Adel*, lying to the Eaſt of *Narea* ſo that the Embaſſadors in going that way, went back again in a manner; neither was the way that the Court had order'd them to take, much better, by reaſon of the vaſt Deſerts, and the unknown Nations they were to have paſſed through before they got to *Melinde*.

The Viceroy having perſuaded them to go his way, was very officious to furniſh them with a Guard to conduct them out of his King-

dom ; and to blind his design the more, sent an Envoy to the King of *Gingiro*, through whose territories they were to pass to obtain a free and safe passage for them. Being arrived at the Banks of *Zebee*, which is a much bigger River than the *Nile*, and which running like a torrent amongst steep Rocks, makes a most hideous noise, they met with a Bridge which was only a single Plank reaching from one Rock to another, and which besides that it was at a prodigious height from the water ; it was so weak as to bend with the weight of one man ; but there being no other Bridge, they were constrained to make use of this, and in a days time they all passed over it without losing a man.

Being now in the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, they halted at a Village not far from the Bridge, sending the Viceroy's Envoy before, to acquaint the King of the Countrey with their arrival ; but the King, who was a Heathen, was at that time so much employed in some extraordinary Conjurations, that it was a Week before the Envoy was permitted to speak with him ; but so soon as the Solemnity was over, he gave him an audience, and sent word by him to the Embassadors to come immediately to Court, promising to shew them all the kindness he was able.

The Embassadors being come to Court, found the King sitting on the top of a Building not unlike *a Watch-Tower*, it was *Twenty five Palms* in height, and about *Thirty in breadth*, the Courtiers stand all on the ground about it.

When

When the Embaſſadors offered to preſent the Emperor's Letters to the King, he came down from his Throne, and having received them with great Ceremony, he *Skipped* to the top of it again: *For he is ſaid in all his poſtures, features, and motions, to have reſembled a Baboon much more than a Man.* After he had read the Letters, he talked with the Embaſſadors a conſiderable time by an Interpreter, who repeated both the King's Queſtions, and the Embaſſador's Anſwers with a moſt profound reverence, and at laſt diſmiſſed them with aſſurances of his being ready to do them all good Offices.

They are kindly received by the Comical King of *Gingiro*.

The Embaſſadors having made the King a Preſent, obtained their *Congé*; and departing next day, they came at night to a River, which they croſſed on *Borachoes*, that were puſhed to the other ſide by men Swimming behind them, and directed by one that Swom before; when they had paſſed this River, they were in the Province of *Combute*, the Prince whereof is Tributary to the *Habaſſin*. They were kindly entertain'd by this Prince, till one *Manquer* came to his Court, who though he pretended to have no other buſineſs there, but *to receive the tribute that Prince paid*, yet he was really ſent by the Grandees of the Court; who having ſmelt out the ſecret of that Embaſſy, ordered him to follow it, and to ſtop it if he could poſſibly. In purſuance whereof *Manquer*, ſo ſoon as he had an opportunity whiſpered the King in the ear, *That the Embaſſadors were not ſent by the Emperor, who knew nothing of them, but by another that was to be nameleſs*; meaning no doubt *Raz Cella*, the Emperor's Brother, *and that*

The Embaſſadors are ſtopt by the Prince of *Combute* upon an intimation of their not having been ſent by the Emperor.

that he ought not therefore to give any Credit to their Letters of Credence, which were all forged in the Emperor's name; That the buſineſs they were going to the *Indies* and *Portugal* about, was *to bring an Army from thence into* Ethiopia, *to compel the people thereof to turn Papiſts, which Army was to be brought upon them through his Kingdom*; *ſo that he muſt expect to have the ſtorm they were going to raiſe, to fall firſt upon him. Amelinel*, for that was the King's name, believing all that *Manquer* had told him, ſent preſently to the Embaſſadors to come and ſpeak with him; and having admitted them to his Preſence, he told them roundly, that having been credibly informed, *That they had no Commiſſion from the Emperor, he could not do leſs than ſtop them, till he had an anſwer from him whether they were his Embaſſadors or not*; and though the Embaſſadors endeavoured to ſatisfy him preſently, by ſhewing him their *Credentials*; yet that would not do, but wait they muſt until *Amelinel* had the Emperor's Anſwer by a Courier he intended to ſend to him. The Embaſſadors finding there was no perſuading of *Amelinel* to let them go, deſired they might have leave to ſend a Courier of their own, with his, to the Court, which was granted them, but at the end of the third days Journey, the Couriers were both ſtopped; and after having been detained there Six Months, were ſent back without having ever been near the Court.

But the Emperor, or his Brother, *who I doubt was chiefly concerned in this Embaſſy*, happening to hear of the Embaſſador's being ſtopped

ſtopped, an *angry Letter* was writ thereupon to *Amelinel* in the Emperor's Name, Commanding him *not only to permit the Ambaſſadors to proceed on their Journey, but to furniſh them alſo with ſuch things as would be proper Preſents for the Princes through whoſe Countries they were to paſs.* Whereupon *Amelinel having begg'd their Excellencies Pardon for having detained them ſo long, and treated them ſo rudely, upon a miſinformation; and having furniſhed them with ſome fine Horſes for Preſents,* he diſmiſſed them with a good guard, which he commanded not to leave them, till they ſaw them ſafe in the Kingdom of *Alaba,* whoſe Prince was a *Mahometan,* and had no dependance on the *Habaſſin.*

They are ſuffered to proceed on their Journey.

The Ambaſſadors had not been Three days at that King's Court, whoſe Name was *Alico,* before their old friend *Manquer* was up with them again, who having told *Alico* the *ſame ſtory* he had told *Amelinel,* the *Mahometan* not troubling himſelf to examine whoſe Ambaſſadors they were, ordered *their Perſons and Papers to be ſeized on preſently*; but the Ambaſſadors having had notice that there was ſuch an Order preparing, had burnt all their Papers before the Officers came to arreſt them; and it was well for them they had; *for had* Alico *had any other Evidence beſides* Manquer's *word, That their buſineſs in the* Indies *was to bring an Army from thence through his Kingdom into* Ethiopia, *it would certainly have coſt them their lives*; *which though* Alico *ſpared for want of ſuch Evidence as their Papers would have furniſhed him withall, yet he ſtripped them of their Equipage, and ſent them back the way*

They are thrown into Jayl by the King of *Alaba,* and afterwards ſent home ſtripped.

way they came, in a very tattered condition. Were but the true secret of this Embassy known, we might know, its like too what it was that made the Emperor not long after this so jealous of his Brother, as to turn him out of all his Offices.

But notwithstanding the Emperor did not as yet profess himself a *Roman* Catholick, as his Brother did openly; yet it being observed by the Ambitious Courtiers, *That none were favoured by him,* or could *pretend to any high post,* but such as had *either turned,* or appeared *to be prepared to do it, whenever he should give the word*; they begun to Cares the Fathers extreamly, making their court to them, *by undervaluing their own Clergy as a pack of Hypocrites and Dunces, and by magnifying the Church of* Rome *as a Body, that it was an honour for any one to be a Member of.*

The Courtiers finding that none but Papists were favoured, turn civil to the Fathers and their Religion.

Upon Poperies growing thus fashionable at Court, the *Countrey, which is seldom fond of Court-fashions,* was so alarm'd by it, that it began *to roar* against the Emperor and his Brother at a most terrible rate, as bigotted *Papists,* that were resolv'd to destroy the established Religion by calling a Foreign Army in upon them; and the Fathers, as if the *Habassins* had *not roared loud enough,* to provoke them to *roar louder,* gave out a *publick Challenge at this time to all the Learned of the* Alexandrian *Faith,* if it had any such, *to defend their Religion, if they were able, before the Emperor.* Which bold challenge *being accepted,* there were divers *publick Conferences about Religion held thereupon before the Emperor*; In all which the Fathers, *but by their own Brethren, are said to have been Victorious,*

The Countrey is much alarm'd therewith.

Several publick Conferences about Religion.

Victorious, and by their great skill in *School-Divinity*, *to whose subtleties the* Habassins *were utter strangers, to have baffled them shamefully at every turn, to the admiration of the whole Court.*

When the Monks and Fathers had done Disputing, the Emperor, with the advice of *his Cabinet Council*, put forth a Proclamation *prohibiting all his Subjects upon severe Penalties, to affirm that there is but one Nature in Christ.*

An Edict is published by the Emperor prohibiting any to affirm that there is but one Nature in Christ.

The *Abuna*, *Simon*, hearing *of the Disputations* that had been held at Court, and of the *Proclamation* they had ended in, made all the speed he could thither, and being come to Court, he threatned the Emperor *with an Excommunication* for having held *publick Disputations about Religion* without his leave. The Emperor endeavoured to *pacify the angry Old Man*, by telling him, That it was true that he had permitted *some Conferences*, but for no other end, but to remove a *Schism that was in the Church*; *but now that he was come, he might, if he pleased, have the Conferences renewed again.*

The *Abuna* comes to Court, and is angry with the Conferences that had been held without his leave.

The *Abuna*, though *his talent* is said not to have lain much that way, gave his Consent to have the *Disputations* renewed; and *Learned Men* having been appointed on both sides to manage the Debate, the *Fathers* in the Conferences did demonstrate the *Truth of Christ's having two Natures* so evidently, from the *Scriptures*, *Councils*, and *right Reason*, that the *Habassins* had nothing that was *material* to say against it, the *Abuna* himself not having offered one word in defence of his Faith, when he saw his Monks most miserably baffled.

The Conferences are renewed before him.

It

It is remarkable, That it was the policy of the Jesuits to make the *Doctrine of Christ's having two Natures, and not that of the Pope's Supremacy*, against which, by what the Emperor *Claudius* did, we know the *Habassins had enough to say, the point that was debated in all their publick Conferences*, which was not so proper, *considering that the* Habassins *might have believed that Doctrine, as the Reformed and Greek Churches do, without being the nearer to the Church of* Rome *for it*; for it does not at all follow, That *because Christ had two Natures, that the Pope must therefore be his Vicar upon Earth*; and *that all Christian Churches must submit themselves to him:* The very Fathers that *established that Doctrine* in the Council of *Calcedon*, having denied that the *Pope had any Supremacy, but what he owed to* Rome's *being the first City in the* Roman *Empire*; as I have observed elsewhere.

Upon the *Habassins* being thus baffled upon a point *the Church of* Rome *was no more concerned in than the Church of* England, the Fathers in the heat of their triumph, did *drive on the Emperor at a most furious rate*, persuading him to set forth another Proclamation, *making it death for any one to deny that there are two Natures in Christ*: But the *Abuna*, though he had little to say for *his Religion* at the Conferences, endeavoured after he had left the Court, to make *amends for his silence there, by roaring the louder through the Countrey as he went home*; and being sensible that besides the whole body of the People, he had the Emperor's Mother, and his half-brother *Emana Christos*, with several

The *Abuna* leaves the Court in wrath, and Excommunicates the Emperor.

veral other Grandees on his ſide; he was no ſooner got home, then he thundered out an Excommunication againſt all, not excepting the Emperor, that had, or ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the Pope.

The Emperor was at firſt troubled at this *Cenſure*; but being afterwards ſatisfied by the Fathers of its Nullity, he was provoked by it to ſet forth a Proclamation, deſiring all his Subjects to *embrace the* Roman *Faith*, Commanding that Proclamation to be publiſhed by the Judges throughout the whole Empire; which moſt of them did, notwithſtanding it was contrary to their private Judgments. This Proclamation having put the whole Empire *into a flame*, and provoked the *Agau*'s to take up Arms; the *Abuna*, who waited only for ſuch an opportunity, ſo ſoon as he found the Emperor engaged in that War, writ *Circular Letters to all his Confidents*, exhorting them and all the Nobles and People, *that were not weary of the Faith of their Forefathers, to enter into an Aſſociation in Defence of it, againſt the Emperor and his Brother, who had now both declared themſelves open Enemies to it.*

The Emperor is provoked thereby to publiſh a Proclamation Commanding all his Subjects to turn *Roman* Catholicks. The *Agau*'s thereupon take up Arms. The *Abuna* promotes an Aſſociation in defence of their Religion.

Julius, the Viceroy of *Tigre*, who had Married a Daughter of the Emperor's, ſo ſoon as he had received the *Abuna*'s Letter, did not only begin to Perſecute the Fathers that reſided at *Fremona*, but ſeized likewiſe upon the Eſtates of all the *Habaſſins* within his Province that had turned *Roman* Catholicks, declaring *he would Defend his Religion againſt all the world, with the laſt drop of his blood.* The Emperor hearing of the *Circular Letter*, and *the*

Julius enters into it, and takes the Field againſt the Emperor.

the Association that was going on, was very angry with the *Abuna,* wishing he had him in his hands to put a stop to his enflaming his Subjects against him; but knowing that if he discovered himself to be displeased with him, that he would either not come if he sent for him, or come with such a Guard, that it would not be safe for him to offer him any violence, he thought fit to *dissemble his passion so far,* as to write a kind Letter to him, desiring *him to repair to him with all possible speed, to satisfy some scruples which gave him great disturbance*; writing at the same time to Father *Peter to come likewise*; which the Father did immediately, bringing with him the news of the *Persecution* that was set on foot in *Tigre* against the Fathers and their Converts.

The Emperor is addressed to not to trouble his Subjects about their Religion.

The Queen and several Grandees of the Court seeing what a *storm* the Emperor was like to raise by endeavouring to introduce Popery into his Empire, waited upon him in a body, beseeching him *as he loved his Crown and his people, to give over that design, as a thing not feasible,* since not only *the Monks, but the whole body of the Nation did openly declare, That they would Defend their Religion against him and all the world with their Lives and Fortunes, and would dye a thousand Deaths sooner than turn* Papists. All which passionate Remonstances were so far from shaking the Emperor's Zeal *for the introducing of Popery,* that they inflamed it to that Degree, that he one day told Father *Peter, That notwithstanding he was sensible he had so far lost the hearts of his Subjects by the favour he shewed to the* Roman *Religion, that they were*

were all ready to rebel againſt him; nevertheleſs *he was reſolved either to loſe his Crown, or to eſtabliſh that Faith in* Ethiopia. And as for his Brother, whenever he was ſpoke to *to renounce Popery*, and *return to his former Faith*; his anſwer was ſtill, *While I have breath in my body I will defend the* Roman *Faith with my Sword, my Tongue, and my Pen.*

He is deaf to all ſuch addreſſes.

The *Abuna*, that he might not ſeem to be wanting to his duty in ſuch a critical juncture, reſolved to go and wait on the Emperor, but with ſuch a Train, that it ſhould not be ſafe for him, if he had a mind to it, to meddle with him, the very Monks that attended him being more in number than the Royal Army. The *Abuna* and his Monks when they came within hearing of the Emperor's Tent, gave *a general ſhout, That they came all prepared to die for the faith of their Forefathers, being reſolved to hear no more arguments againſt it*; making the whole Camp to ring with *Ajentent, Ajentent*, that is to ſay, *The Ancient, the Ancient*, meaning their Faith.

The *Abuna* being invited to Court, goes thither well guarded.

The Emperor being willing to put a ſtop to this fury, ſent to the *Abuna* to come to him; which the *Abuna* did; and having ſpoke their minds very freely to one another, they agreed *to ſummon a Convocation of the Clergy to meet on* Michaelmas-day, at which the Fathers were to be preſent, and to be heard.

The Convocation being met at the time appointed, it was ſo far from *allaying the heat* of the *Habaſſins*, which was the end for which the Emperor had called it, that it put them in *a greater flame* than they were in before; for

the Fathers knowing they had not one *voice* on their ſide in that whole body, were not for having things put *to the Vote*, but for having them *diſputed*, as *if it had not been a Convocation, but only a publick Conference*; but though the Fathers offered ſeveral Arguments in defence of their Doctrines, which the *Habaſſins* did not ſo much as pretend to Anſwer: Nevertheleſs the *Habaſſin* ſtill kept their Ground, declaring, *That no Sophiſtry ſhould ever perſuade them out of the faith of their Forefathers.* The Convocation having wrangled, for that was all the *Jeſuits* would ſuffer to be done in it for five days; it broke up in a great heat, *leaving matters a great deal worſe than it found them.*

The *Abuna* and the Monks wait on the Emperor in a Body.

The *Abuna* and his Monks finding there was no good to be done upon the Emperor, who ſeemed to be bewitched by the *Jeſuits*, were for leaving the Camp immediately without taking any farther notice of him; but having conſidered on't a little better, they agreed to wait upon him in a body, to conjure him by all that was ſacred, and as he loved himſelf, his Poſterity and People, not to endeavour to bring a new Religion in among them; and which, he could not but be ſenſible, was the Religion in the world that they the moſt hated; and ſo without ſending to him for an audience, which they had reaſon to believe would have been denied them, they went and threw themſelves at his feet, and inſtead of ſpeaking, raiſed *a moſt lamentable howl*, as if they had been ſo many *Ideots*, ſay the Fathers; which *howl*, having continued a good ſpace, they at laſt recovered their ſpeech, *crying* with one Voice,

Voice, That his Highneſs *muſt not think that he was able to deſtroy a Religion which had been maintained in* Ethiopia *by ſo many Emperors thorough ſo many Ages.* The Emperor not appearing to be in the leaſt moved either by their *Complaints* or *Threats*, they all ris and went away in a great *Rage*, ſome of them being ſaid, by their Enemies, to have been ſo far provoked by the Emperor's carriage toward them, as to have conſpired to *Murther him and his Brother*, as they went out of the Camp, for Recreation; but not having met with an opportunity of executing that *black deſign*, they all returned home with their *Abuna*; but with their Spirits ſo exaſperated, that it was viſible to every body that they would not ſuffer the Emperor and his *Jeſuits* to be long quiet.

Upon the Emperor ſlighting their complaints, they leave the Camp in a rage.

Father *Peter* to divert the Emperor from thinking of the troubles that he was like to bring upon himſelf and his Empire by his Zeal for Popery, put him upon building a *ſtanding Palace* on a *Peninſula* in the Lake of *Dembea*. and there being no ſuch thing as a Maſon in all *Ethiopia*, the Father undertook the work himſelf, and in a ſhort time run up a Houſe which the *Jeſuits* ſay would have been a convenient Hunting Palace, for the beſt King in *Europe*; The Emperor was extreamly pleaſed with it; and the *Habaſſins* having never ſeen a Houſe with Stories before, called it *Habet*, *Labet*, that is, *a Houſe upon a Houſe*. While Father *Peter* was employed in Building, the other Fathers were buſy Tranſlating ſome Commentaries on the Scripture out of *Latin* into *Habaſſin*; namely, *Maldonate* on the Goſpel, *Ribera* on

Father *Peter* Builds the Emperor a ſtanding Palace.

the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *Tolet* on St. *Paul*'s Epistles, and *Viegas* on the Revelation, who were all Spanish *Jesuits*, the *Habassins* not being to know that any in *Europe* that were not of that Nation and Order could write Books.

An attempt is made upon the Emperor's life.

While the Emperor was solacing himself in his new Palace, his Brother *Amana Christos*, *Julius* the Viceroy of *Tigre*, and one *Calfe* his Chamberlain, and chief Eunuch, conspired to Murther him in it; and had done it, had it not been for a Spring-Lock which shut a door behind him as he fled from the Conspirators; of which Lock it is reported, that the Emperor when he first saw it on the Door, would have had it taken off, as troublesome to open every time he went into his Closet, had not Father *Peter* perswaded him to let it alone, by telling him, *That it might at some time or other do his Highness some Service.* The Conspirators having made their Escape, had no remedy after such *a black attempt*, but to take *the Field*; and *Julius* being got into *Tigre*, he immediately set forth a Proclamation, commanding all within that Kingdom who were of the *Roman* Faith, to go to the Emperor and his Brother, who would make them welcom; and all that were of the same faith with their Fathers to repair to him, he being resolved to defend it with the last drop of his blood.

Julius the Emperor's Son-in-Law takes up Arms for the defence of their Religion.

This Proclamation brought the whole Countrey in to *Julius*, out of which having formed a numerous *Croisade*, he marched directly towards the *Nile* with an intention to have fallen first upon *Raz Cella*, the great Champion of

of Popery; but happening in his March to come near the place where the *Abuna* reſided, he went to wait on him to have his Bleſſing; the *Abuna*, who was glad to ſee him, was not ſatisfied with giving him a Thouſand Bleſſings for being ſo *valiant for the truth*; but though he was above a Hundred Years of Age he would go in perſon in the *Croiſade*, telling Julius, *That as he ſhould partake of the benefits of that holy War, if it had ſucceſs; ſo he was reſolved likewiſe to partake of its dangers.* And whereas *Julius* was for beginning with *Raz Cella*, the *Abuna* diverted him from it, by telling him, *That ſince he was at the head of ſo great and zealous an Army, he ought not to ſpend its firſt heats, which were always the ſtrongeſt, in lopping off Branches, but in ſtriking at the Root, which being once deſtroyed, the Branches would wither of themſelves.* He likewiſe encouraged the Soldiers, by telling them, *That they fought for the beſt Cauſe in the world, that is, the true Religion, which the Emperor and his Brother, if let alone, would certainly deſtroy*; aſſuring them, *That whoſoever was ſlain in this holy War, would die a Martyr, and go ſtraight to Heaven*; *thundering out his Excommunications at the ſame time againſt the Emperor and his Brother, and all that adhered to them, as Apoſtates from the Faith.*

He Marcheth with a great *Croiſade* againſt the Emperor.

The *Abuna* goes againſt him in perſon.

The Emperor hearing that *Julius* was Marching towards him with a numerous and Zealous *Croiſade*, ſent to his Brother to make all the haſte he could to come and join him with his Army; but fearing leſt *Julius*, who made long Marches, might be up with him before his Brother could join him; He incamp-

ed his Army ſo, that the Enemy's Horſe, in which their main ſtrength conſiſted, if they ſhould attack him in his Camp, would be of little uſe to them.

When the Armies were within ſight of one another, the Emperor ſent his Daughter, who was Wife to *Julius*, to try if ſhe could perſuade her Husband to lay down his Arms, promiſing him not only a pardon for what he had done, but every thing that a ſubject could reaſonably deſire of his Prince: And in caſe ſhe ſhould not be able to bring him to ſubmit, ſhe was then to try if ſhe could obtain a Ceſſation of Arms of him for a few days; but *Julius* either reckoning himſelf ſecure of a Victory, that would have the Crown for its reward; or being fearful to take the Emperor's word after he had provoked him ſo much, would hear of nothing but of Fighting; ſaying, *He would either die a Martyr for his Religion, or by Conquering its Enemies ſecure it from being ever deſtroy'd*: And that he might loſe no time, he attacked the Emperor's Camp before his Princeſs was well got back to her Father; and having put himſelf at the head of a brisk body of men, be advanced towards his out-guards, who though they did not come in to him, would not ſtrike a ſtroke, telling their Officers flatly, *That they would never draw their Swords againſt a man, who was fighting in Defence of their Religion.* *Julius* obſerving this, asked aloud all the way he went, where *the Emperor was, that was reſolved to deſtroy the Religion of their Forefathers, which he was there with his Sword in his hand ready to defend againſt him and*

He fights the Emperor's Army, and is killed.

and all Mankind; with which, as if it had been *the word of the Imperialists*, he advanced within sight of the Royal Tent without having met with the least opposition, until a body of *Tigrians*, who were posted not far from it, put a full stop to his Career, thorough whom as he was hacking his way, he was knocked off his Horse with the blow of a stone under the left Eye; and as he lay on the ground, had his head presently chopped off, which was carried to the Emperor by a private Sentinel. The Body that advanced with *Julius*, having as it were lost their Soul in their Commander, was presently hewed all in pieces; and the *Tigrians* following their blow, and the other *Imperialists* who would not strike a stroke before, joining with them, now that *Julius* was slain, they put the whole *Croisade* immediately to the rout; every man of them so soon as they heard of their General's being killed, throwing down their Arms, and crying out for Quarter. The old *Abuna* was stunned so with this *sudden turn of things*, that he was not able to stir from the place where he had posted himself; but though several of the Imperialists knowing him to be the *Abuna*, had out of Reverence to his character and great Age passed by him without offering him any violence; yet a *true* Roman *Catholick*, say the *Jesuits*, whose name was *Za Michael*, having found him out, *gave him such a blow in the neck with his Lance, that he laid his head at his foot*; with whose, and *Julius*'s death, this great *Croisade* vanished, having had no other effect, than to enrage the Emperor more than he was

The *Croisade* is totally defeated, and the old *Abuna* slain.

The Emperor upon this Victory prohibits his Subjects to observe *Saturday*.

before againſt the *Alexandrians*, and their Religion, who immediately upon this Victory ſet forth a Proclamation, prohibiting *all his Subjects upon ſevere penalties to obſerve* Saturday *any longer*.

This Impious Proclamation, as the *Habaſſins* reckoned it, produced a bitter Libel, directed by way of a Letter to the Emperor, wherein he was told, *That his Subjects were all amazed at his wickedneſs in commanding* the violation *of that Sacred day*; *adviſing him not to be rid by the* Jeſuits, *who were an Ignorant little ſort of people*; *and who being of the race of* Pontius Pilate, *and Uncircumciſed, did teach, that there are Two Natures in Chriſt*: Adding, *That they were men ſwallowed up in the Gulph of their own Fopperies, and did run headlong like an unbridled Horſe, without looking before them*; *and did well deſerve to have a Milſtone tied about their Necks, and to be thrown into the Sea, and to be made partakers of the Curſe that befel Pope* Leo *for having deni'd the Unity of Chriſt's Nature*; and after a great huddle of Texts of Scripture in favour of their Doctrines, it at laſt admoniſheth the Emperor that in caſe *he was not weary of his Crown, and the high Dignity he had received from the Popes of* Egypt, *who wore the holy and new Ephod, and bore the badge of the Croſs, to give over trying ſuch new Experiments: concluding thus*; *Ah! We do here ſend this precious ſtone which enlightens the eyes of the blind*; *May it be for an offering, but may the Swine never ſee it, that ſo they may not trample it under their unclean feet*; *for it is written, You ſhall not throw Jewels before Swine.*

A ſevere Libel comes out againſt the Emperor.

This

This Libel *galled* the Emperor so terribly, that to be *revenged* on its Authors, he published a Second Proclamation, by which he commanded all his Subjects to work on Saturdays, being to pay a Crown for the first fault, and to forfeit their whole Estate for the second; to which penalty the Offenders were to continue liable Seven Years after the fault was committed, by which time the Fathers hoped *that Popery might have got strength enough in* Ethiopia *to execute this Law as they should see occasion, being sensible that there would be few or none of any Estate that would not be under its lash.* This rigorous Proclamation being sent to *Joanel* the Viceroy of *Begameder*, who waited for such an opportunity to raise the people against the Emperor, to publish, he commanded it to be done presently with great Solemnity, taking care at the same time, to declare to all the World, that it was what he abominated from his Soul: Neither was *Joanel* deceived in his thoughts of the effects of this Proclamation; for the people no sooner heard of the Emperor's having commanded them under severe Penalties for *to work upon Saturdays*, than they began to rail at him, as one who *had no Religion*; and who, for that and other reasons was become so *intolerable to his Subjects, that they must be Beasts of Burden to endure him any longer*; and hearing that *Joanel* had declared himself openly in all Companies against what the Emperor had commanded; they flocked to him from all Quarters, beseeching him as *he had any love for God and his Country, not to suffer their Religion to be thus tram-*

The Emperor by a Second Proclamation commands all his Subjects to work upon *Saturdays.*

A Rebellion breaks out upon it.

trampled on; promising *to die by his side in the defence of it*. *Joanel* having foreseen what the Emperor *by his Zeal for Popery would quickly bring things to*, had obtained a promise of considerable Succours from the *Gauls* whenever he should take the Field; upon the strength of which, and the fury the Emperor's late Proclamation had put the whole Empire into, he formed a great Army out of the people that flocked in to him; assuring them, now he had taken up Arms, that he would never lay them down until he had secured their Religion to them. When the news of this second *Croisade* came to Court, great numbers of the first Quality of both Sexes set upon the Emperor again, beseeching him *as he loved himself and his Empire, to give over all thoughts of introducing Popery into a Countrey, that of all things in the world could not endure it*.

An address is made to the Emperor not to trouble his people with Popery.

The Emperor, though much troubled to find that *Joanel* and his Cause had so many friends in his Court; yet not being willing to do any thing that might *intimmedate his Converts*, he told the Grandees that had addressed to him, with an angry countenance, *That it was his Subjects duty to obey, and not to dispute his Commands*; *and that he would teach them better manners than to fly thus in their Prince's face, when he did any thing that displeased them*; and hoping to have terrifi'd the Grandees from troubling him with any more Addresses, he commanded *one of the most forward Addressers to be put to death*, banishing another of them for his life to the Kingdom of *Narea*; which cruelty was so far from having the effect that

The Addressers are punished.

was

was expected from it, that it did but *Exasperate peoples spirits, and put them into a greater rage against Popery than they were in before.*

The Emperor, though he could not but see the storm thicken upon him on all sides, yet was so far from seeking to divert it by *any Compliances*, that having called a full Assembly of the Grandees, Monks, and Military Officers together in the great Hall of the Palace, he made the following Speech to them.

The Emperor's Speech thereupon.

YOU Ris against the Emperor Jacob, *and having Deposed him for several Misdemeanors, you advanced my Cousin* Za Danguil *to the Throne, whom for having forsaken your Religion, and embraced that of the* Portugueses, *you afterwards Murthered; and after having conferred the Crown upon me, you made* Jacob *King a Second time; but though you intended to have Deposed me, God was pleased to give me Victory; from that day to this I have done wrong to no body, but on the contrary, have pardoned great numbers, having been prodigal of my favours to a fault; but all this has not been sufficient to keep you from Rebelling, upon a pretence that I am endeavouring to destroy your Religion, when, in truth, I do only seek to reform it; for as I do profess with you, That our Lord Christ is true God and true Man; so I do moreover affirm, That as he cannot be perfect God without having the Nature of God, so neither can he be perfect Man without a Human Nature; now since it is evident by the light of reason, That the Divine and Human Nature are really distinguished, it must follow therefore, that there are two Natures in Christ; and since there can*

can be no Confusion in the Godhead, those two Natures must necessarily be united in one and the same Person of the Eternal Word; so that what I am doing, is not to forsake the Faith, but to profess it in truth. And I do further affirm, That the Divine Nature is Superior to the Human. It is true, I have forbid you to observe Saturday *any longer; and it is an amazing thing that you who value your selves upon being Christians, should be for keeping the Sabbath of the Jews; what is this, but, as the Prophet* Elias *said,* to go halting, *&c.? As this is my Faith, so I do not follow it because it is the Faith of the* Portugueses, *or of the* Roman *Church, but because it is the Faith that was established by Six hundred Fathers in the Council of* Calcedon, *which Condemn'd* Dioscorus *and* Eutyches; *and for being a truth founded on the Scriptures, and derived from the Apostles, who were the Teachers of the World. Undeceive your selves therefore; for for this Faith I am ready to lay down my life if there should be occasion, though I must tell you at the same time, it shall cost them their Lives first that shall dare to contradict me therein.*

How seasonable a Speech of this strain, was, in which Father *Peter*, who was now become the first Minister, had a hand undoubtedly, for one in the Emperor's Circumstances, let the world judge.

The Emperor having received an insolent Letter from *Joanel*, wherein he insisted upon having the *Jesuits all turned out of* Ethiopia, and his being declared Viceroy of *Begameder* for his Life, was so incensed, that he march-

ed

ed againſt him in Perſon; but *Joanel* having advice thereof, and knowing himſelf not to be ſtrong enough to deal with him, he Retreated to the Mountains, where his Army's Zeal being allayed by the want of Proviſions, it moulder'd to nothing in a ſhort time; ſo that he was obliged with a ſmall Party to take ſanctuary among the *Gauls*, who having been hired to it by the Emperor, put him to death.

The Emperor ſends an Army againſt the Rebels, and routs them.

The Emperor being returned to *Doncaz*, where he intended to ſpend the Winter, was invited by the Fathers to come and viſit the new Church they had built at *Gorgora*, which he did with great Devotion, putting his Shoes off when he entered into it; but the late Proclamation had bred too much *ill blood* in *Ethiopia* for to let it be long quiet. The *Damotes*, a People inhabiting the banks of *Nile*, being thrown into *ſuch a rage* by *Raz Cella*, their Viceroy's rigorous Execution thereof, that they all flew to their Arms as one Man, being likewiſe inſtigated ſo to do by great *droves of Hermits*, who being alarmed by the late Proclamation, flocked to them from all parts of the Deſarts, railing all the way they came at the Emperor and his Brother, *as Apoſtates, and at the Jeſuits as the Authors of all their troubles*; ſeveral of them running over the Countrey as men *diſtracted*, and roaring as they went, *That all People were bound in Conſcience to take up Arms againſt the Emperor and his Brother, in defence of their Religion, which they ſeemed to be reſolved to deſtroy.*

The

The Viceroy hearing of the mad work the Hermits were making among the *Damotes*, writ to ſome of his Friends in thoſe parts, not to ſuffer themſelves and the People to be any longer abuſed *by ſuch a pack of Ignorant and Hypocritical Raſcals, who taught them nothing but Lies*; but he could have no other anſwer from them than, *That unleſs he would burn all his Popiſh Books, and deliver up all his Jeſuits to them, that they might hang them all upon one great Tree, for the miſchiefs they had done in* Ethiopia, *they would have nothing more to do with him, being all to a man reſolved to live and die in the* Alexandrian *Faith.* The Viceroy not caring to part with *his Books and Jeſuits* ſo eaſily, advanced towards them with an Army of Seven Thouſand well-diſciplin'd Men; the *Damotes* were near double the Number, having Four hundred Hermits who had *devoted their Lives* to their Religion, well Armed with Targets and Launces; this great inequality in numbers did not hinder the Viceroy from offering them Battel ſo ſoon as he came up with them, which they having accepted of, the two Armies quickly came to blows, but the *Damotes* being raw men, and not well Armed, were at the firſt onſet put to the rout, and beſides a great ſlaughter that was made among the Soldiers as they fled towards the Mountains, there were One hundred and eighteen of the Monks, with their famous Captain *Batare*, found ſlain upon the ſpot where the Fight was; the Viceroy is ſaid to have loſt but *One Man* in the Action, and *he too*, which made the loſs the leſs, *was a Heathen.*

The *Damotes* take up Arms for their Religion, and are routed.

Heathen. A Miraculous Evidence, ſay the Jeſuits, of the Truth of the Roman, *and of the falſhood of the* Alexandrian *Faith.*

The Emperor, when Father *Peter* Congratulated him upon this Victory, told him, *He had great reaſon to thank God for it, for that had the* Damotes *gained the leaſt advantage, he ſhould have had the whole Empire preſently in Arms againſt him, whoſe Spirits he believed were now pretty well ſubdued, and that after ſuch a blow, it would not be ſo eaſy for the Monks or Hermits to Roar them into any more Rebellions*; and whereas he had hitherto been with-held *by his fears,* and *his Wife*'s, which he was very unwilling to have parted withal, from Reconciling himſelf formally to the Church of *Rome,* he told the Father, he would delay to do it no longer; the Father over-joyed to hear this, upon his having firſt *Abjured all the* Alexandrian *Errors,* and made *a Confeſſion of his whole Life to him, gave him Abſolution, and Reconciled him to the Pope.*

The Emperor reconciles himſelf to the Church of *Rome.*

But the Father, overcome it is like by the Joy of this Converſion, outlived it but a few days; his Death was much Lamented by the Emperor and his Brother, to whom the Father was *become a perfect Oracle, in all State, no leſs than Church-matters.*

Preſently after Father *Peter*'s death, there were Three Letters writ from *Ethiopia* to the Provincial and Viſitor of the Jeſuits in the *Indies,* to ſend them a Patriarch, with as many Fathers as they could ſpare: The firſt was writ by the Emperor to the Provincial, the ſecond and third to the Viſitor, by Father *Luis*

Luis de Azevedo, and Father *Antony Fernandez*. The Contents of which Letters being much the same, I shall set down that of Father *Antony*'s only, which is the shortest of them.

Father Antony Fernandez *Letter to the Father Visitor of the* Indies.

I *Write this with the good News of this Kingdom, to your Reverence, to engage you to order* Processions to be made, *and to* have Masses said, *and the* Te Deum sung, *to return Thanks to God for the favour he has shewed us* in the Conversion of this Empire, *the doing whereof will very much refresh the Fathers and Brethren who labour here with me, and will sweeten the great hardships they undergo.*

The Emperor with his whole Court, and all the Grandees, and Princes Ecclesiastical and Secular of this Empire, have abjured their Errors, and made a publick Profession of their Obedience to the holy See of Rome.

The general Administration of all Churches and Parishes being put into my hands, I have Established Curates in them all, having made such new Laws as were necessary; and abolished all the old ones that were contrary to the Roman *Church. I have had some thoughts of coming to you, and have been ready to begin my Journey, but have been still hindered by the Glory of God, which obligeth me to keep close to the Emperor.*

The thing we stand most in need of here at present, is a Patriarch, with a good number of Fathers, to help us to carry on these good beginnings. Your Reverence

Reverence cannot but be ſenſible of this our want, without my enlarging upon it. Our Fathers and Brethren ought to run thorough fire and water, Pikes and Swords for to aſſiſt this Countrey; leſt having the promiſed Land ſhewed us, we may be excluded it thorough our own fault. They ought to flock hither with all poſſible ſpeed; for notwithſtanding the Heirs apparent of the Empire, and all the Princes and Nobles thereof are at preſent true Catholicks; Nevertheleſs ſhould we happen to be deprived of the Emperor and his Brother Zela Chriſtos *by death, it is to be feared, that the Monks and* Habaſſins *might raiſe ſeditions to the pulling down of all that we have built; and may perſuade the people, who are more changeable than the wind, to abandon what they have ſo lately embraced.*

Wherefore your Reverence would do well to ſend us all the Fathers you can ſpare; let them be at leaſt Twenty, whom we ſhall endeavour to accommodate the beſt we can, until it ſhall pleaſe God to raiſe up a Cardinal or Prince to have compaſſion upon theſe poor people, and to ſuccor thoſe who labour in their Converſion. No day paſſeth wherein the Emperor do's not ſpeak to us to ſend for Two hundred Fathers, ſaying, God will provide for them when they come. *I am ſenſible the Society cannot furniſh us with ſo many, though if it could, the Corn here is ſo ripe for the Harveſt, that they would all find work enough. We did at firſt accommodate our ſelves to the cuſtoms of the Countrey, that we might with the more eaſe gain them to the Lord; having beſides the Faſts that are commanded, kept* Wedneſdays, *and obſerved* Lent, *and* Eaſter, *and the other principal Feaſts, according to their ſtile; according to which,* Eaſter *falls ſometimes a*

Month ſooner than with us; reciting our Offices likewiſe after their cuſtom on the Evening of Faſting-days; but ſo ſoon as we found them diſpoſed for it, we propoſed to them the Rites, Cuſtoms, and Ceremonies of the Latin-*Church, and the decrees of the Pope, which they have now univerſallly agreed to; ſo that of late we have without any contradiction, kept* Eaſter, *and the other Feaſts, according to the* Roman *ſtile. For the ſettlement whereof, they have earneſtly demanded the Tables of our Moveable Feaſts, and the Eccleſiaſtical Epact, to prevent their being miſtaken. I have by Letter deſired our Provincial to ſend us ſuch Tables, that any one of a common capacity may accommodate the names that are in them, to the names of this Countrey. To which end I have ſent him a Table that was made here by a* Catholick, *who is very expert in Arithmetick, that he may examine it, and alter it as he ſhall think convenient. And I do earneſtly beſeech your Reverence, to get this affair diſpatched as ſoon as it is poſſible, and to order continual Prayers to be made to God in our behalf, and in behalf of this Ccuntrey: We have loſt two good Fathers here; God take us under his Protection; for this Miſſion has ſuſtained a great loſs by their deaths; this Empire, which wants I do not know how many Prieſts, at preſent has only, Father* James Matos, *and Father* Anthony Bruno, *who have the ſole charge of* Gojam; *and Father* Lewis d Azevedo, *who is gone lately to* Ambra; *and my ſelf, who am fixt at Court. Praiſed be God we are all in health at preſent; but Father* Lewis's *ordinary diſtempers are ſuch as demand a writ of eaſe for him; but Charity and a Zeal for Souls overcomes all difficulties; I do recommend my ſelf*

to

to your Reverence's Prayers, and holy Sacrifices.

March 3d. 1623.

How far Popery was from having got such footing in *Ethiopia* as this Letter represents it to have had, will appear from the sequel of the Story.

Such Reports as these of the Conversion of *Ethiopia*, being transmitted to *Rome*.

Mutio Vitelesci, the General of the *Jesuits*, to secure the honour *of that* Conversion to his own Order, waited upon the Pope; and without any *Commission or Order* from the *Emperor* to do it, made a submission to the Pope in his name with all the usual Solemnities; and not being able to obtain leave no more than *Ignatius*, though he begg'd it of the Pope with the same earnestness as his Patriarch had done, to go in person to *Ethiopia*, to finish that great work, he contented himself with sending a Nuncio to do it; the *Jesuit* he employed in this Embassy, was one *Manuel d' Almeyda*, who at that time resided at *Bacaim* in the *Indies*; who with Three other Fathers arrived at *Fremona* in *Ethiopia*, in the Year 1624. where having staid a Month with his Brethren, to inform himself of the true state of Affairs, he begun his Journey to Court; where when he arrived, he was received with great Ceremony by the Emperor; who when the Nuncio at his first audience offered to have kissed his hand, would not suffer him to do it; but having commanded him to sit down by him, he asked him several Questions concerning

The General of the *Jesuits*, makes the Emperor's submission from the Pope, without any commission from him to do it.

He sends a Nuncio to him to acquaint him therewith.

the Pope, and the King of *Portugal*, and the ſtate of Affairs in *Europe*; the Nuncio perceiving that he took no notice of his Maſter *Vitelleſci*, ſtood up, and told him, *That his Reverend General* Mutio Vitelleſci, *not having to his great ſorrow been able to obtain leave of the Pope to come in perſon to wait upon his Highneſs, had ſent him to kiſs his hand in his name, and to return his Highneſs his thanks for the favours he had ſhew'd to the Friars of his Order; and to acquaint him furthermore, with his having made his Highneſs ſubmiſſion to the Pope, who is the head of the Church, and Chriſt's Vicar on Earth, by having kiſſed his Holineſſe's feet in his name.* The Emperor, though ſurprized, did not ſeem to be diſpleaſed with the General for having been ſo officious; but having commanded his Letters to be read preſently by Father *Anthony*, he was ſo well ſatisfied with them, that he ordered his Hiſtoriographer, who was preſent at the reading of them, *not to forget to inſert them into his life.*

The Emperor reckoning he had ſo far ſubdued the Spirits of his Subjects, that he might now do what he pleaſed with them; begun to make bolder ſteps towards the introducing of Popery, than he had ventured to make before; and in order to make the *Alexandrian* Faith odious to his People, he ſet forth the following *Manifeſto*, on purpoſe to blacken the Memories of their former *Abuna's.*

The

The Manifesto *of the Emperor* Saltem Saged *cometh to the whole world of his Empire.*

HEAR *what we say and write in favour of the holy Faith (which is true, and has no crookedness in it) of the great City of* Rome, *the Chair of St.* Peter, *whom our Lord Jesus Christ Constituted the Prince of the faithful; telling him from his own holy mouth, from whence no error could flow,* Thou art *Peter,* &c. *as he did also when he was ready to be crucified for the Redemption of the world. Simon,* behold Satan hath designed to winnow thee as Wheat, but I have pray'd that thy faith may not fail; *commanding him likewise after his Resurrection, and before his Ascension in the flesh into Heaven,* to feed his Rams, his Sheep and his Lambs, *meaning by Rams, men, by Ews women, and by Lambs children; and thus St.* Peter *had Authority given him over all Christians. This venerable Prince of the Apostles, when he was about to leave the world, that he might go to his Creator to receive his reward, bequeathed this privilege and primacy to his Successors in the Chair of* Rome, *where it has continued and will continue to the end of the world; so that it shall neither be in the power of* Moors *nor* Turks *nor of any other Creature to destroy it; those words of our Lord Jesus,* the Gates of all shall not pervail against it *being its sure defence.*

The Emperor publisheth a reproachful *Manifesto* against the *Alexandrians.*

So when a Controversy arose in the Church, the first Council of Nice, *which consisted of Three hundred and eighteen Bishops, threw* Arius *out of*

the Church, for affirming the Son of God to be a Creature; as the second Council, consisting of One hundred and fifteen Patriarchs and Bishops, assembled in the City of Constantinople, *did* Macedonius, *for asserting the Holy Ghost to be a Creature; and the third Council, consisting of Three hundred Bishops, did* Nestorius, *for dividing Christ into Two Persons, the Divine and Human; and the fourth, consisting of Six hundred and thirty Patriarchs and Bishops, assembled in the City of* Calcedon, *Excommunicated the Rebellious* Dioscorus, *for joyning in Infidelity with* Eutyches, *in mixing the Humanity with the Divinity, so as to make One only Nature; whereas it is most certain, That there are Two Natures in Christ, the Divine and Human; on the account of which Divine Nature it was, that the said Three hundred and eigheeen Fathers did put the following words into the Creed,* We believe in our Lord Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of the Father, and who was with him before the World was Created; *as on the account of his Human Nature, the following words were added,* And was conceived by the Holy Ghost, in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary,* with the Consent of the Father, and the Son, and of the said Holy Ghost, Three Persons and One only God; *the Father and the Son not being named on that occasion, being no argument of those Fathers not believing they did not Co-operate therein with the Holy Spirit, but it was done on purpose to teach us, That in the Most Blessed Trinity, besides the operations* ad Intra, *there are operations* ad Extra; *according to the holy Fathers; of those* ad Extra, *the Works of Power are attributed to the Father;*

those

those of Wisdom to the Son, and those of Love to the Holy Ghost: Wherefore since the Incarnation of the Son of God was for the sake of the Sons of Men, and for that reason was a Work of Love: The Three hundred and eighteen Fathers did attribute it to the Holy Spirit: Though in Virtue and Power, and the Creation of things, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are One only True God: The Virgin Mary *was mentioned by them upon account of the Human Nature, which in an instant united it self to the Eternal Person of the Son, who is equal in Divinity to the Father*; *and that in our Lord Jesus Christ, being only One Person, there are Two Natures, is written in divers Books of the Holy Spirit, St.* Matthew *in the beginning of it, calleth his Gospel,* The book of the Generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham; *which was said on the account of his Human Nature*; *as it was on the account of his Divine Nature that St.* John *saith,* In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word; *the Divine Nature having neither Beginning nor End*; *whereas the Human Nature had a Beginning. All which Writings notwithstanding,* Eutyches, *the Master of Mischief, did affirm, That there was only One Nature in Christ, and so mixed the Humanity with the Divinity*; *now this Rebel was followed by* Dioscorus, *who assisted him both in word and deed, and having procured the Murther of* Flavianius, *Patriarch of* Constantinople, *for having Excommunicated* Eutyches, *and some other obstinate Hereticks that were before him, namely*, Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, *and* Sabellius; *all which matters having been sub-*

mitted to the Holy Roman *Church, the Head of all other Churches, on the account of the Empire and Primacy that it hath by inheriting the Power of St.* Peter, *the Prince of the Apostles.*

It is certain the Patriarchs who succeeded Dioscorus *in the See of* Alexandria, *have not Preached the true Faith, in having taught that there is only One Nature in Christ; and so being destitute of the true Faith, they have wandered out of the paths of Patriarchs, Bishops, and Priests, in having had Wives and Children, and Grand-Children, and have been intangled in divers things not fit to be named; they have also taken Money for Holy Orders; and having Consecrated Salt Stones for Altar Stones, have afterwards sold them; having likewise tyrannized cruelly over those they Ordained, obliging several of them to serve them a Year, or Six Months at least, in sawing Wood or Stone for their Palaces, before they would Ordain them; for which Practice they were Excommunicated by the Apostle, who said,* He that buyeth or selleth Orders, is excommunicated, and has his portion with *Simon Magus* and *Judas.*

The Abuna Mark, *was Convicted by the Emperor* Malec Saged, *of several carnal Crimes which are not fit to be heard or Uttered, they being of that kind for which God rained down fire from Heaven; and being Deposed for having been guilty of them, he was Banished into the Island of* Dek, *where he dyed a strange death, his Belly swelling as hard as a Drum. The Abuna* Christos Dula *kept several Concubines, contrary to the custom of Patriarchs, as was well known by all his Contemporaries, and by some that are still alive. His Successor*

Succeſſor Peter *kept a* Malaquis *Wife, and having been convicted of Adultery, he did Penance for it, as may be teſtified by ſeveral living Witneſſes, namely one* Joſeph, *and one* Marino, *who are both Strangers, and not* Habaſſins; *and who adding ſin to ſin, did Excommunicate the Emperor* Jacob, *after he had Reigned Seven Years, as he did all the People of* Ethiopia *likewiſe, in caſe they did not Depoſe him, and Baniſh him to the Kingdom of* Narea; *and having placed* Za Danguil *in the Throne, he afterwards excited his Subjects to Murther him, by Excommunicating them if they did not do it; and as if all this had not been enough, he took the Field with the Emperor* Jacob *againſt us, and was killed with him in the Fight. The Abuna* Simon *was guilty likewiſe of divers enormous Crimes, who beſides his having taken one* Mali *an* Egyptian's *Wife from him, and diſhonoured ſeveral Virgins, he kept divers Concubines, and happening to have a Child by one who was not able to maintain it, to conceal his ſhame, he ordered it to be thrown to the Wolves, by whom it was devoured; this every body knows to be true, namely, the* Azages; *and who, when* Julius *Rebelled, inſtead of labouring, according to the cuſtom of Patriarchs and Monks, to make Peace, joyned with him in his Rebellion, and having called his Soldiers together, told them on the day before the Battel, That he forgave them all, Young and Old, their Sins, notwithſtanding they had broke all the Commandmendments, upon condition they would put all to the Sword that they found in Arms in the Emperor's Camp, and that he would Canonize the Man that would kill the Emperor, aſſuring them that all that ſhould be ſlain fighting againſt him, would die Martyrs,*

tyrs, and go ſtraightways to Heaven; encouraging Julius's *Soldiers, after the example of Satan, to fight againſt us; but God was pleaſed to give us the Victory; and the Divine Juſtice having laid its Military hands upon him, he died an ill death. But to return to our chief intent, theſe Patriarchs in having, from the time of* Dioſcorus, *denied Obedience to the Popes of* Rome, *who are the Succeſſors of St.* Peter, *the foundation of the Faith, and the Head of the Holy Church; and in having affirmed that there is only One Nature in Chriſt, and in having refuſed the Ordinances and Canons of the Apoſtles of our Lord, and wreſted all writings to their own wicked purpoſes, have not lead the People in the paths of Truth: Let us therefore give over yeilding Obedience any longer to the Patriarchs of* Alexandria, *who are all* Jacobites, *walking in the ways of their Errors, and treading in the ſteps of* Arius, Macedonius, Sabellius, Eutyches, *and* Dioſcorus, *and let us yeild Obedience to the Biſhop of* Rome, *who ſits in the Chair of St.* Peter, *which Chair cannot Err in any matter of Faith or good Manners. And do you all in Peace follow the Holy Faith, which Chriſt our Lord built with his Holy Blood on the Croſs, which he ſhed for the Salvation of all that do believe in him, for ever and ever.* Amen.

This Manifeſto, notwithſtanding it is Orthodox as to what relates to the two Natures in Chriſt, yet its throwng ſo much dirt, and in all probability unjuſtly, on the Memories of the *Habaſſin* Abuna's, was a thing infinitely below the Dignity, as well as Charity of a Chriſtian Emperor, who let his Religion be what

what it will, is *not to write Libels, but to burn them rather, as* Conſtantine *did.* And as to the policy of ſuch a Manifeſto at this time, unleſs the Emperor's Affairs were in ſuch a condition, that it was ſafe for him *to provoke his Subjects to Rebel, that ſo by ſubduing them, he might deſtroy the eſtabliſhed Religion with the more eaſe, it was certainly ſtark naught,* there being nothing that he could have done, that could have enraged his People more againſt him, than the *making of ſuch lew'd reflections on Prelates, for whoſe Memories the* Habaſſins *had a moſt profound veneration; but ſuch blunders as theſe are to be expected in places where Princes Councils are governed by People who have ſpent moſt of their days in a Cell, under the diſcipline of a blind Obedience.*

The Emperor grows jealous of his Brother.

The Emperor about this time finding that notwithſtanding he had enraged his Subjects almoſt to a madneſs againſt him by his Manifeſto's and Proclamations in favour of Popery, that his Brother *Raz Cella* was ſtill courted by the whole *Roman* Party as their Head, ſo that he was left, in a manner, without a Friend that he could confide in; he reſolved upon ſome pretence or other to ſtrip his Brother, not only of the Viceroyſhip of *Gojam*, but of all the Poſts of Authority that he was poſſeſſed of, judging it to be neceſſary to his ſafety, to keep him as low as it was poſſible; and eſpecially if the *Portugueſe* Succors ſhould come, which had been deſired. *Raz Cella*, who was a Prince of a violent and raſh Temper, having diſcovered his Brother's jealouſies of him, together with the reſolutions they had made

made him take, did ſtorm at ſuch rate in all Companies, as to make the Emperor much more jealous than ever; who though reſolved to throw him down, yet being willing to do it as gently as might be, he called him out of *Gojam* to Command an Army he was ſending againſt one *Cabrael*, who had raiſed a *Croiſade* againſt him.

He ſends him againſt *Cabrael*, who was at the head of a *Croiſade*.

Raz Cella, though he was not ignorant of what was his Brother's deſign in giving him this Command, yet being ſenſible that the *Roman* Party in *Ethiopia* was but a handful, and that the *Alexandrians*, who were a Thouſand to One, would upon the Emperor's abandoning all Popiſh Intereſts, which a rupture with him at that time would have forced him to, not only have forgave him all that was paſt, but would as one man have declared for him, and ſtood by him in defence of their Religion; he judged it moſt adviſable for him to obey the ſummons, and accordingly went and took the Command of the Army upon him, and having made a Vow to *Francis Xavier* to build a Church to him if he returned Victorious, he marched againſt *Cabrael*, who finding himſelf too weak to reſiſt the Royal Army, truſſed up his Baggage ſo ſoon as it approached him, retiring with what ſpeed he could to the *Gauls*, by whom, being hired to do it, he was Murthered; which ſucceſs was ſo far from reconciling the Emperor to his Brother, that it made him more afraid of him than ever.

Now while things were thus in *Ethiopia*, at *Rome* and *Madrid* they thought it was more than

than time that a Patriarch were sent thither with Two Coadjutors, and with the same Power as the former; and accordingly one *Alfonso Mendez*, being named Patriarch, and *James Seco* and *John da Rocha*, Bishops of *Nice* and *Hieropolis*, his Two Coadjutors by *Philip* the Fourth, they were approved by the Pope, and having obtained their Dispensations, for they were all Three Jesuits, and Bulls, the Patriarch and Bishop Elect of *Nice*, were Consecrated at *Lisbon* by Prelates of a much higher Sphere than the former Patriarch, their Order by this time having pretty well wore off the odium of Novelty; the Consecration of the Bishop Elect of *Hieropolis* being prorogued to the *Indies*.

A Patriarch of *Ethiopia* is consecrated at *Lisbon*.

On the 28th. of *May*, the Patriarch with the Elect of *Hieropolis*, the Bishop of *Nice* having died in the Voyage, arrived at *Goa*, where he stayed till the 17th. of *September*, and then embarked for *Chaul*, where he met with the following Letters from the Emperor and his Brother.

The Patriarch arrives at *Goa*.

The Emperor's Letter.

WITH the Peace of the good Pastor who gave his Life for his Sheep, We do give many thanks to God our Lord, who has granted us our desires and petitions; and has been pleased to fulfil the time, when your Lordship was to come to be our Patriarch, with two Bishops Coadjutors, who will be all found little enough to help these straying Sheep in a stormy day. May God bring

The Emperor's Letter to the Patriarch.

bring your Lordſhip to us in Peace and health, and give you ſuch a paſſage, that we may have you among us quickly, as the neceſſity of this Empire does require, with the greatneſs of which the Fathers have, I preſume, acquainted you at large; in the mean time we do beſeech God ſo to order matters, that they may all redound to his Glory and Honour, and the good of ſo many Souls.

May 1624.

Raz. Cella Chriſtos's *Letter to the Patriarch.*

Raz Cellas's Letter to the Patriarch.

THE Peace of our Lord, the eternal word by whom all things were made, and all for his ſake, who took our humanity in the Womb of the intirely holy Virgin; and without grudging did offer himſelf in the Temple of the Croſs for our ſake, Preſerve your Lordſhips perſon from all Temporal evils, ſhedding the dew of health ſo on the fleece of your life, as to bring you in ſafety to that high Dignity to which he hath called you, and to which your Predeceſſor could never attain. Your Lordſhip's Letter when I received it, threw me into ſuch an Extaſy of joy, as that the Souls of the Fathers, when they were expecting the Advent of our Saviour, were thrown into, when that Ray of Divinity appeared to them, in ſo much that I may ſafely ſay, that from my Childhood to this day, I never felt any exultation in my heart equal to that, not being able in the ballance of my heart to weigh the gold of the joy I derived from your Lordſhip's Letter, which was purified by a ſtrong flame of love, on the arrival

rival of your Lordſhip's Piety ; what ſhall I return to God, who is ſlow to anger, and of great mercy ? *and who do's not look upon the countenance of my wickedneſs with the eyes of a vigoaous Juſtice, though he is a ſearcher out even of venial Sins ; for having prolonged my life to hear the joyful news which I have been many years expecting , the Nerve of my thoughts having for a long time depended and hung on the Tree of your Lordſhip's love ; now as God who is intirely good, and of abundant kindneſs, has made me worthy to hear the news of your Lordſhip , and has thereby unburdened me of that load of trouble which had for ſeveral years lain ſo heavy upon me for the ſake of the holy faith ; ſo he will, I hope, think me worthy to ſee your Lordſhip's face, and to kiſs your ſhooes, being brim full of Love and Charity. I muſt beg your Lordſhip to make all the haſte you can to us, and to bring Multitudes of Fathers with you, that ſo this Land of* Ethiopia, *which is at preſent in the way of corrupt Doctrine , and in the crooked Faith of* Dioſcorus, *and abounding with Errors, may be wafted into the ſecure harbor of the true faith of St.* Leo, *the Pope of* Rome, *and Succeſſor of St.* Peter, *and Paſtor of Paſtors. This Countrey is very large, and has many Tribes of Heathens in it, who do all deſire to receive the Chriſtian faith ; and it is not long ſince I deſtroy'd a prodigious Idol, whoſe beginning was not known among them, nor the time when it was firſt Worſhipped ; it was adored by a great many Tribes of Heathens, called* Agus, *who ſince I burnt it to aſhes, have flocked in great numbers to Baptiſm ; and it has been the ſame among the* Caffres ; *neither do we want any thing but Fathers to perfect theſe Converſions ;*

for

for which reason I beseech you a second time to bring great Numbers of them with you, &c.

What it should be that made the *Jesuits et cætera* such an Original of their *Beu-Clerks*, if it was not, that in *the suppressed part* of it he writ as vehemently for *Portugueſe* Troops, which they thought would not look well in him at a time when he was upon such ill terms with his Brother, as he did in the part they have publisht, for Fathers, let the Reader discover if he can; but however this were, it is certain, that when he was in disgrace with the Emperor his Nephew, that he writ for such Troops at a more vehement rate than he do's here for *Jesuits*.

The Patriarch Lands at *Baylar*.

In *May* the Patriarch landed at *Baylar*, from whence he went disguised to the King of *Dancalis* Court: The *Dancalians*, who attended him as his Guard, having heard that there was an *Abuna* or Patriarch among the Fathers, were still enquiring, *which was the Patriarch: We told them*, saith the Patriarch himself, *That he died at Sea*; *meaning the Bishop of* Nice.

The King entertained the Fathers, for the Patriarch was still *incognito*, very courteously; and through *ignorance* refused a *Noble Present* they would have made him, and accepted of a *Trifle*.

On the 21*st*. of *June* the Patriarch arrived at *Fremona*, having one morning by the way seen a Prodigious Star in the Heavens: Some of the Fathers were of opinion, that it was the *Star which Conducted the Wisemen to* Bethlehem; but the Patriarch desented from them, and

and demonſtrated it to be the *Figure of the Bleſſed Virgin* Mary, who being *the Star both of the Morning and the Sea, appeared to them to promiſe them her light*; which being agreed to by all, the *Hymn*, *Ave Maria Maris Stella*, &c. and the *Antiphona, Sub tuum præſidium*, were ſung to it.

The Patriarch continued at *Fremona* till *November*; the Emperor having ſent him word, that ſo ſoon as he had made an end of chaſtiſing ſome Jews that were in Arms againſt him in the Mountains of *Cemen*, he ſhould have orders to come to Court; but *Raz Cella*, who would always out-do his Brother in civility to the *Roman*-Catholicks, with his Preſent and Complement, ſent the Patriarch a ſtrong Guard, to wait upon him whereever he went. In *December* the Patriarch arrived at *Gorgora*, where *he ordained Twenty Prieſts*, ordaining ſuch of them as were in *Habaſſin* Orders, *with a Condition*; and permitting ſuch of them as were Married, to live with their Wives. Not many days after, he received an Invitation from the Emperor to come to *Dancez*, where the Court was at that time; and being come within half a League of the Royal Camp, he was met by moſt of the Officers of the Court in their beſt Cloaths, and a body of Sixteen Thouſand Soldiers; who after having made him a profound reverence, opened to the Right and Left to make a Lane for him. Among the Grandees that went out to meet him, were *Baſilides*, the Emperor's Eldeſt Son, and his ſure Friend *Raz Cella Chriſtòs*.

The Patriarch comes to Court.

In this State the Patriarch was Conducted to a Tent that was prepared for him without the Camp; where having put on *his Pontificials*, the Princes and Grandees all alighted and *kiſſed his hand*. When that Ceremony was over, he Mounted again, and was Conducted to a Tent within the Camp; where having put on his Mytre, he Mounted a ſtately Horſe richly equipped, that the Emperor had preſented him with; and riding under a ſumptuous Canopy, that was ſupported by Six Viceroys, he advanced to the Church *Jan Jabet*, having his Horſe led all the way by *Serca Chriſtos* the Steward of the Houſhold.

He is graciouſly received by the Emperor.

When the Patriarch entered into the Church, he found the Emperor there ſitting on his Throne with his Crown on his Head; who when the Patriarch drew near to him, ris up and embraced him with great Affection, the Patriarch having paid his Devoirs to the Emperor, went up to the Altar; where having ſpent ſome time in Devotion, he ſeated himſelf in his *Pontifical Chair*, and begun a Sermon, taking for his Text thoſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *Behold how good and pleaſant a thing it is for brethren to live together in unity.* His Diſcourſe is ſaid to have been the more applauded, for its having been the firſt Sermon that was ever preached in *Ethiopia* by an *Abuna*: Upon which, as if all *Popes and* Roman *Archbiſhops were conſtant and laborious Preachers, and mortal haters of Money*; the *Jeſuits triumphed*, and made this reflection, *That by this, if there had been nothing elſe, the* Habaſſins *might have ſeen the*

the difference there was betwixt their Church and that of Rome, *their former* Abunas *having come amongst them for no other end, but to get money out of them*; the Patriarch having given *the blessing*, was told the Emperor staid for him in the great Hall of the Palace; who when the Patriarch came near, ris up and made him sit down by him in a Chair, that differed nothing from that he himself sate on; the Emperor after they were both seated, enquired very kindly about the Patriarch's health, and the length and fatigues of his Voyage; and some Complements and Ejaculations having passed on both sides, they fixed the day whereon the Emperor and all his Converts were publickly to swear obedience to the Pope in the hands of the Patriarch.

The day is fixt for the Emperor's submitting himself and his Empire to the Pope.

The Eleventh of *December*, which was the day appointed for the Solemnity, being come, the Emperor and all the Court-Converts repaired to the great Hall of the Palace, in which there were two Chairs of State placed near the Throne, one on the right side for the Emperor, and another on the left for the Patriarch; who being seated with his *Tiara* on his head, and in a Cope of *Asperges*, he begun a Sermon, taking for his Text, *Thou art* Peter, *&c.* I shall not trouble the Reader with the Sermon, there being nothing in it but the *common* Roman *Mumpsimus* upon these words, and the *gross fallacy of confounding, the Supremacy the Church of* Rome *now pretends to, with that primacy of order that was anciently given to it purely in consideration of* Rome's *being*

The Patriarch preacheth before the Emperor.

the first City in the Empire; to which purpose the Patriarch quoted a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which he told the *Habassins* they would find in their own Books, which run as follows:

> *There are four principal Chairs in the World which are as the four Rivers that flow out of Paradise; or as the four universal Winds, or as the four Elements; but above all the Chair of St.* Peter *has the Dignity and Primacy; and in the second place that of St.* Mark *of* Alexandria; *in the third place that of St.* John; *in the fourth that of* Antioch, *which was also St.* Peter's, *from which four all the other Bishops are derived.*

Now this Canon, besides that it is not a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which in its Constitution relating to the Hierarchy, contradicts it in making *Antioch* and not *Ephesus* the third Chair, and *Jerusalem* the fourth; it overthrows that very Supremacy to which the *Habassins* were about to swear obedience, in giving no other Primacy to the *Roman*, over the other three Patriarchs than it do's to the *Alexandrian* over the other two, which was undoubtedly a Primacy only of Order and not of Jurisdiction; for had the Primacy that is here given to these Chairs, been given out of respect to the Apostles who were their first Bishops, then *Antioch* must have been the second if not the first, and *Alexandria* the last; but notwithstanding it is not easy to imagine, that

that the patriarch ſhould be ignorant of theſe *two great flaws* in his *Canon*, he concluded it with this *flouriſh*, *See now to whom you ought to give moſt Credit, to a groſs Falſary or Cheat, or to a Decree of Three hundred and eighteen Catholick Fathers.*

There was another thing he much *inſiſted upon*, which was, That there had been Heretical Biſhops in all the *other Chairs*, whereas no *Biſhop* that had ſate in the *Chair of* Rome, had ever been ſo much as *ſuſpected of any Hereſy*; which to ſay no worſe of it, *was a bold word*, conſidering *That* Liberius *ſtands accuſed by all his Contemporaries of* Arianiſm; *and* Honorius, *Biſhop of the ſame See, was condemned by Name in Two General Councils, as a Heretick. But the* Habaſſins *having little or no Knowledge in Church-Hiſtory, encouraged the Patriarch to make ſo bold with them.*

When the Patriarch had ended his Sermon, the Emperor Commanded the Viceroy of *Cemen*, who was Lord High Chamberlain, to ſpeak in his Name.

The High Chamberlain's Speech.

There is but one thing remarkable in the Chamberlain's Speech, that is, his ſaying, *That the People of* Ethiopia *did compel the Emperor much againſt his will, to take the Crown upon him, and that if they would have let him alone, he would have been much better contented to have lived and died in the Monaſtery they found him in, than to have been made an Emperor.* Now this is very different from the Hiſtory we have of him, which makes him, during *Jacob* and *Za Danguil*'s Reign, to have ſcoured about with

a Body of *Raperees*, and to have fought his way to the Throne.

When the Chamberlain had done speaking, the Emperor turned about to the Patriarch, and told him, *Your Lordship is not to think that what I am about to do now is a new thing, I having some years ago yeilded Obedience to the Pope, in the hands of the Father Superior, who is here present*; nevertheless being willing to do it again with more Solemnity, he took the Book of the Gospels in his hand, and Kneeling down before the Patriarch, made his Submission in the form following:

The Emperor's Submission.

WE Seltem Saged, *Emperor of* Ethiopia, *Do Believe and Confess, That St.* Peter *was Constituted Prince of the Apostles by our Lord Jesus Christ, as also Head of the whole Christian Church, Christ having given him a Principality and Dominion over the whole World, when he said unto him,* Thou art Peter; *and when at another time he Commanded him to feed his Sheep. We do also Believe and Confess, That the Pope of* Rome, *being lawfully Elected, is the true Successor of the Apostle St.* Peter *in that Government, having the same Power, Dignity, and Primacy over the whole Christian Church. And to the Holy Father* Urban *the* VIIIth. *who is, by the Grace of God, Pope at this time, and our Lord; and to his Successors in the Government of the Church, We do Promise, Offer, and Swear, true Obedience and Subjection, with all humility at his Feet, for our own Person and Empire.* So help us God, and this Holy Gospel.

Upon

Upon this Submiſſion the Emperor was repreſented here in *Europe*, by the Miſſionaries as one of the greateſt Saints that had ever wore, a Crown: But upon his returning to re-eſtabliſh the *Alexandrian* Faith again, which he did, not many years after, we have this *great Character recanted*, being repreſented on that occaſion, and that by the ſame Miſſionaries, *as a wretch that had never any thing in him that was good. So that Princes are Saints or Devils with ſome people, as they are Friends or Foes to the Pope, of which Queen* Elizabeth, *and* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *are a home inſtance.*

The Submiſſion of the Prince, Grandees, and Eccleſiaſticks.

After the Emperor, the Princes, Viceroys, and Eccleſiaſticks of the Court made their Submiſſions, ſaying, *I. N. do Promiſe, Offer, and Swear the ſame. So help me God, and theſe Holy Goſpels.* When the Solemnity of Swearing was ended, *Raz Cella Chriſtos* began an harangue, and having talked himſelf into an heat, *he drew his Sword*, and holding it *up naked*, ſaid, *what is now is now, and what is paſt is paſt, but whoſoever ſhall not do his duty hereafter, this*, ſhaking his Sword, *ſhall be his Judge.*

After this, all that were preſent took an *Oath to Prince* Baſilides, *as Heir and Succeſſor to his Father*; which Oath, ſay the Jeſuits, when the Great *Raz Cella Chriſtos* came to take, he, *like a true Son* of the *Roman* Church, took it *with a Condition*, worthy of his Courage and Chriſtianity, ſaying, *I Swear to the Prince as Heir to his Father in the Empire, and I do promiſe to Obey him as a Loyal Subject, ſo long as he ſhall Hold, Defend, and Favour, the Holy Catholick*

Faith, which whensoever he shall cease to do, I will be both his first and greatest Enemy: All his Officers and Servants taking the Oath to the Prince with the same Condition.

The Solemnity was concluded with an *Excommunication* pronounced by the Patriarch, against those who should at any time violate these Oaths; and with two Proclamations, *the one prohibiting all* Habassin *Priests to perform any Ecclesiastical Office before they had presented themselves to the Patriarch*; and the other *Commanding all the Subjects of the Empire, upon pain of Death, to embrace Popery, and to discover all such as adhered to their Ancient Religion, Commanding them likewise to observe* Lent *and* Easter *according to the* Roman *Stile.*

A new revenue is setled on the Patriarch.

The next thing to be done, was to settle a Revenue on the Patriarch, suitable to the heighth of his Dignity, to which the Lands and Perquisites of the former *Abuna*'s were not reckoned to be sufficient; the Emperor therefore bestowed a great Estate in Land, lying upon the shoar of the *Lake of Dembea*, upon him, giving him also the Palace of the Empress *Mariam Eima*, and ordering another Palace to be Built for him in *Dancaz*, where the Court resided for the most part.

The Patriarch having thus feather'd his own Nest, begun to look abroad, and having got the Emperor to found a College for Sixty Students at *Dancaz*, he begun to send his Missionaries about, and not having Fathers enough for so great an harvest, he was forc'd to make use of such *Habassins* as were observed to have the most Zeal for the *Roman* Church.

And

And as it is common with ſome People to reckon a work done before it is well begun, ſo when the News of this ſolemn ſubmiſſion came to *Lisbon*, *Ethiopia* was reckoned to be the Pope's, as ſure as *Portugal*; for in a Book Printed there in the year 1623. by one *Vega* a Jeſuit, the World was told, *That the fervour wherewith the* Habaſſins *crowded into the boſom of Mother Church, was too great to be either expreſſed or conceived, and that there was nothing to be heard all over that vaſt Empire, but Praiſes of the* Roman *Faith*; *Old and Young, Rich and Poor, declaring that there was nothing to be compared to it*; *and that whereas hitherto they had been as blind as Rats, and miſerably impoſed upon, they do now behold the Light, and are happily reſcued from the Blindneſs and Cheats of falſe Teachers, the* Roman *being the only Faith that deſerved to be maintained*; *and if there ſhould be occaſion, that is worth the dying for.* Nay, the Patriarch himſelf, as appears from a Letter of his ſent to *Portugal* about this time, was pretty ſanguine too, having aſſured the Fathers of his Society, *That he ſpoke within compaſs when he ſaid, an Hundred thouſand had been Converted within a Year to the* Roman *Church*; which, conſidering that *Ethiopia* is no very populous Countrey, was an extraordinary Harveſt. And I do well remember, that in the year 1685. he would have been looked upon at *Lisbon* as one of the greateſt lyars in the World, that ſhould have denied that in Eight Months time above Six hundred thouſand Proteſtants had been Chriſtened, for that was the word, in *England*.

The Jeſuits do reckon their work done before it was well begun.

There

Pretty ſtories ſent from *Habaſſia.*

There were likewiſe a great many pretty ſtories, either ſent from *Ethiopia* or made at *Lisbon*, upon this occaſion; I ſhall only ſet down one of them, by which the Reader may judge of the reſt.

The Emperor having one day commanded one of his Sons, who was but a Child, to take up the Cudgels for the *Roman* Church, againſt one of the moſt Learned of the *Habaſſin* Monks, *Bellarmine*, for ſo the Emperor uſed to call that Child, took the Monk to task preſently, asking him, without any premeditation, *Whether he Believed Chriſt to have been God before he was Born?* The Monk made anſwer, *he did*: *Bellarmine* then asked him, *Whether he did not believe God's Nature to be different from Man's Nature?* The Monk anſwered, *It was undoubtedly: Hold your hand then*, ſaid *Bellarmine*, *ſince you acknowledge he was God that took Man's Nature upon him, How can you deny that there muſt be Two Natures in Chriſt*; with which argument the poor Monk *was ſtruck as mute as a Fiſh.* It is no great matter whether this ſtory was true or not, it being enough that it was pat for a Sermon upon the Text, *Out of the mouths of babes and ſucklings*, &c.

But as all other Orders, as we have hinted before, do accuſe the Jeſuit Miſſionaries of magnifying their own Labours and Succeſſes thus, beyond all the bounds of Credibility, ſo they do complain likewiſe of their diſparaging the Labours of all other Friars in their remote Miſſions.

Of which Proud and envious carriage, the Jeſuits reſident at *Agra* do, in their Letters of this Year

Year to their Superiors at *Goa*, furniſh us with a notable inſtance; where, ſpeaking of ſome Friars, who, I ſuppoſe were *Carmelites*, being come newly to that City, they ſay, *They were ſo high-flown, as to pretend to nothing under Raiſing the Dead*; adding, *they have begun to work, but we do not as yet hear, that they have Raiſed any that were Dead to Life: We pray God they may prove true Prophets.*

But though the *Roman* Church was thus Triumphant at Court, the whole Body of the Empire, notwithſtanding the late bloody Proclamation, was extreamly prejudiced againſt it, and the whole Court, for its ſake, ſo that the Patriarch's Miſſionaries, whereever they went, met with but bad entertainment.

Two of them going into a Church in *Tigre* to ſay Maſs, were Commanded, by a Perſon of Honour that lived in the Neighbourhood, *to go and ſay their Maſſes ſomewhere elſe, and not in the Church where his Father, who had lived and died in the* Alexandrian *Faith, lay buried*; but the Miſſionaries knowing they had the Government on their ſide, made anſwer, *That he muſt not think to terrifie them out of their Duties, for Maſs they came to ſay there, and Maſs they would ſay.* The Gentleman finding they were not to be hindered by Threats, offered them Money to forbear; and when he found that would not do neither, he threw himſelf *down upon his Father's grave*, crying in a *mighty Paſſion, that he would be buried with his Father, rather than ſuffer a thing to be done there, which he knew muſt be offenſive to his Ghoſt.*

Two *Habaſſin* Miſſionaries are Murthered for ſaying the *Roman* Maſs.

But

But the Miſſionaries taking no notice of his words, performed their Maſſes, which provoked the Gentleman to that degree, that he had them both Murthered next Night in their Beds.

The Emperor and the Court kept the Holy Week and *Eaſter* with the Patriarch at the Church of *Geneta Jeſus*, where *Raz Cella*, the Heroe of the *Jeſuits* Hiſtories, with his Captains, guarded the Sepulcher all *Good-Friday* at night; and in the proceſſion there were ſeveral *that whipt themſelves*, after the faſhion of *Portugal*, which was a ſtrange ſight in *Ethiopia*.

The Patriarch having publiſhed the Six firſt General Councils with a Catechiſm in the *Habaſſin* Tongue, begun a Viſitation; but finding himſelf not able to endure the fatigue thereof, he cut it ſhort, leaving it to the new Biſhop, who was expected daily from the *Indies*. The Emperor upon his having been told that the Patriarch had demanded no Fees of the Clergy at his Viſitation, is ſaid to have reflected upon the former *Abuna*'s; who not having ſo great an Eſtate, as he had beſtowed upon the Patriarch, did uſe to take ſome; ſaying of them, *That they ſeemed to have held Viſitations for no other end but to get Money, the thing in the World the* Roman *Prelates and* Jeſuits *hate the moſt.*

In the Year 1627, the *Gauls* made a great Incurſion into *Ethiopia*; and having ſurprized the Viceroy *Buco*, who was a great Stickler for Popery, they put him and his whole Army to the Sword, but they were afterwards drive home

home by *Raz Cella*, who do's all the great things in the *Jeſuits* Hiſtories.

But the ill ſucceſs of *Julius*, *Joanel*, and others who had taken up Arms in defence of their Religion, had not ſo far cowed the Zeal of the *Habaſſins*, as to make them ſubmit quietly to the Eſtabliſhment of Popery; and the diſcontented Grandees, which are what no Government ever wanted, knowing the people to be extreamly angry with the Emperor and the Court, are ſaid to have made uſe of their Religious reſentments for the carrying on of their own private deſigns.

And accordingly *Tecla Guergis*, the Viceroy of *Tigre*, who was Married to a Daughter of the Emperor's, Publiſhed a Proclamation on the Fifth of *November*; wherein having declared himſelf *of the* Alexandrian *Faith*, *and ſwore to Defend it with the laſt drop of his Blood againſt all the world*; He ordered all that were of the ſame faith to bring in all the Crucifixes and Reliques which had been forced upon them by the Fathers; and having got great numbers of them into his hands, he *made a Bonfire* of them all, telling the Monks and Soldiers, who were rejoicing at the ſight, *That they might ſee by this that he was in earneſt*; and not contented with having given them this aſſurance of his having abſolutely broke with his Father-in-Law and the *Jeſuits*; He Murthered his own Chaplain in the ſight of the Camp, becauſe he refuſed to return to the *Alexandrian* Faith, giving his body afterwards to the Officers of his Army, who with their Cimiters cut it in a thouſand pieces.

A fifth *Croiſade* raiſed againſt the Emperor.

When

When the Emperor heard of this new *Croisade*, he sent *Kebo Christus* with an Army to suppress it in the beginning; who having Marched day and night, was up with *Guergis* sooner than he expected; *Guergis* nevertheless trusting to the Zeal and Number of his Forces, accepted of a Battel when it was offered him by *Kebo*; who having encouraged his men with a short Speech, dispersed the *Alexandrians* with the first shock he gave them, few of them having been killed fighting, besides Twelve Monks. *Kebo*, who was a Bigotted Papist, made a great slaughter, sparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child; and *Guergis*, who had hid himself in a Cave, being taken three days after the fight, was sent by him under a strong Guard to the Emperor, by whom he was condemned to be burnt to Ashes, not for his Treason, but for his Apostacy, and the Bonfire he had made; who having desired to speak with a *Roman* Priest before he died, had Father *Antonio* sent to him by the Patriarch, with full powers to absolve him from all censures in case he found him penitent. *Guergis*, hoping that his turning *Roman*-Catholick would have helped him to a pardon, told the Father *he was extreamly sorry for what he had done, and desired nothing so much as to be reconciled again to the* Roman *Church, being resolved to die in her Faith.* The Father having made him abjure the *Alexandrian* Faith, confessed and absolved him from all the censures he had incurred; but *Guergis* perceiving that all that he was like to get by *having turned Papist, was only to be hanged in the prison as a Rebel, and not burnt publickly alive as an Heretick*; when he was

It is routed, and the General of it, who was the Emperor's Son-in-Law, is taken.

was brought to the place of Execution, he declared openly, *That he died in the* Alexandrian, *and not in the* Roman *Faith.* The Emperor when he heard of this, ſent an order to bring him immediately out of priſon, to hang him on a Tree that ſtood near the Palace.

When the Officers came to the priſon, they found him hanging; and perceiving that he was not quite dead, they cut him down; and carrying him to that Tree, hanged him upon it. The Emperor carried all the Court-Ladies to entertain them with this ſad ſpectacle; and having commanded them to look on the Dead body, he told them, *That from that day forward, they would do well to look to themſelves and if they either rejected or forſook the* Roman *Faith*; *not to expect a pardon for it, ſince he had denied one to his own Son-in-Law for having done it*; and to terrify the tender *Sex the more,* about fifteen days after, he commanded *Adivato,* a Lady of great Quality, to be hanged before them upon the ſame Tree; for whoſe pardon, when the Empreſs and all the Ladies of the Court had thrown themſelves at his feet, he ſhaked them off, ſaith Father *Anthony,* with the following *Noble Fable.*

A Lady is put to death for her Religion.

There was upon a time a very ancient man, who being told that a Child was dead, made anſwer, Children are tender Creatures, and a ſmall matter carries them off; and being told afterwards there was a Young man dead, he ſaid, Conſidering the raſhneſs of Youth, that was no wonder; but when he was told that an Old man was dead, he wrung his hands, and cried as if the world had been at an end,

end, imagining death ſtood ready to arreſt him; So, ſaith the Emperor, you could ſee Guergis *and his Companions ſuffer without ſpeaking a word in their behalf, but now one of your own Sex is to ſuffer, you are all in an uproar to ſave her; but I will have you all know, That this Shoeſtring of* Aba Jacob's, *whom* Guergis *had Murthered for being a* Roman *Prieſt, is ſtrong enough to hang this Sow, and all ſuch as ſhe is.*

The wonderful change Popery had wrought on the tempers of its Converts.

Father *Anthony*, who was preſent at all theſe Executions, has in his Relation of them, made ſo true a remark upon the change Popery had wrought on the Emperor's temper, and on the practice of the *Habaſſins*, who ſeldom or never uſed to put Grandees, and much leſs Ladies, to death, for Treaſon, or indeed for any other Crime, that I ſhall ſet it down in his own words; *Whoſoever*, ſaith he, *ſhall diligently read the Hiſtory of* Ethiopia, *and ſhall obſerve the want of Vindicative Juſtice that was therein, and the Clemency* Seltem Saged *had uſed before with all that had Rebelled againſt him, muſt of neceſſity reckon his Puniſhing of* Tecla Guergis *ſo ſeverely, to have been one of the greateſt Miracles that had happened in many years in* Ethiopia. For let the Church of *Rome* be what She will, as to *her working Miracles* that are any ways *beneficial to Mankind*, they muſt be very unjuſt to her that deny her the *honour of working ſuch Miracles as theſe in the tempers of her Converts.* But, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, *theſe Miracles of Cruelty did the Fathers no great kindneſs in* Ethiopia *at long run.* Neither were the Cruelties of an *unprovoked Perſecution* at this time in *Ethiopia*, leſs wonderful than thoſe of War; the inhumanity

manity of the former being such, as to overtake those, who for Conscience sake had forsaken all that they had in the world, and had *Buried themselves in Caves and Dens of the Earth*; out of which, when discovered, they were either ferreted to be burnt, if they would not turn *Roman*-Catholicks, or smoaked to death in them. The memory of which Barbarities is to this day so fresh in the minds of the *Habassins*, that as they do still continue to have a great Veneration for those Caves wherein their Brethren suffered Martyrdom, so they cannot hear a *Jesuit* or a *Roman*-Catholick so much as mentioned, but with horror.

An inhumane persecution is raised against the *Alexandrians*.

The Patriarch and Fathers reckoning themselves sure of the Emperor, after *these miraculous cruelties*, for which they believed the *Alexandrians* would never be reconciled to him, begun to *make bolder steps than they had ventured to make before*; and so the Patriarch having been informed that an Ancient Nobleman, who had been of the Council of State, and Chamberlain to the Emperor, *had some Lands which belonged to the Church in his hands*, he first admonished him *to restore them to the Church immediately*; which the Nobleman having refused to do, the Patriarch seeing him afterwards at Mass, ordered *an Excommunication to be pronounced against him*; the Nobleman having never dreamt of any such Thunderclap, is said to have been so astonished by its Curses and Maledictions, That he *fell upon the ground, as if* Datham *and* Abiram, *to whom the Excommunication had delivered him, had been coming upon him like two furies to carry him quick*

The Patriarch Excommunicates a great Man for keeping Church-Lands.

down into Hell; but being come to himſelf again, he beſeeched the Emperor and the whole Congregation to intercede with the Patriarch in his behalf, promiſing *to reſtore the Lands to the Church immediately*; which being done, the Patriarch *abſolved him in* forma Eccleſiæ, *ſtriking him with a rod all the time the* Miſerere *was Singing*. At which *exerciſe of Diſcipline*, though all the true Romaniſts, ſay the *Jeſuits*, rejoiced, *they that were Hereticks in their hearts were mad to ſee themſelves ſubjected to ſuch reproachful puniſhments.*

In this Year the Foundation of the Patriarchal Church was laid at *Dancez*; the Emperor himſelf having laid the firſt ſtone, and promiſed to build it at his own proper coſt; and as an Earneſt of his *Devotion for our Lady*, to whom it was Dedicated, he took a Crown of pure Gold off his Head and gave it to be employ'd in gilding the Seats in our Lady's Chappel; it was to have been a large Church with three Naves, but *Popery did not ſtay long enough in* Ethiopia *to ſee it finiſhed*: For at the ſame time that its foundations were laid, the Emperor's jealouſies of his Brother revived again; one *Melcha Chriſtos*, who was his firſt Couſin having aſſured both the Emperor and the Prince, that *Raz Cella* was continually plotting with the Patriarch and the Fathers, to bring a *Portugueſe* Army into *Ethiopia*, to make himſelf Emperor; in which charge *Melcha Chriſtos* was ſeconded by one *Leſſana Chriſtos*, who being an Officer of the Army, was ſecured by *Raz Cella*, ſo ſoon as he heard of his being one of his accuſers,

Raz Cella is accuſed of plotting with the *Portugueſes* to make himſelf Emperor.

sers, and condemned by him to be put to death immediately as an Apostate to the *Alexandrian* Faith. *Lessana*, to prevent the Execution of this Sentence, appealed to the Emperor; and fearing lest he might be dispatched out of the way, before he could have an answer from Court, he broke prison; but being taken before he could get to the Emperor, he had his head chopped off, not for Heresy, nor for having accused his General, but for having broke Jayl. *But* Raz Cella *by stopping of* Lessana's *mouth thus, did open a Thousand against him; and did Confirm the Emperor and the Prince in their former jealousies*; it being in every body's mouth, *that* Raz Cella *had murther'd* Lessana *for no other reason, but because he was privy to his plotting secretly with the Patriarch, and was ready to have proved it upon him if he had been suffered to go to Court.*

One of the chief Witnesses against him is murthered by his order.

The discovery of this plot gave a *fatal blow to Popery in* Ethiopia; every body, but especially the Prince, being satisfied, that considering how *odious* Raz Cella *had rendered himself to the* Habassins, it could be nothing but his having received some assurances of a *Portuguese* Army, that could have put *such fumes* into his head; so that after this the Prince never gave over persecuting the Patriarch and Fathers until he had rid *Ethiopia* of them, as we shall see hereafter.

In the Year 1629, the *Agau*'s of *Begameder* took up Arms for their Religion; and having Massacred the Soldiers that were Quartered upon them, and drive their Viceroy *Za Ma-*

The *Agaus* take up Arms in Defence of their Religion.

riam out of the Province, they ſent Envoys to a Prince of the Royal Family, who had taken ſanctuary among the *Gauls*, to come and take the Crown of *Ethiopia*, which belonged to him of right, upon him; promiſing *to ſtand by him in Defence of their Religion, with their Lives and Fortunes.* This Prince was probably Son either to the late Emperor *Jacob*, or to *Za Danguil*, who are both ſaid to have had Sons; though we hear nothing of them after their Fathers were ſlain, unleſs we will believe *Zaga Chriſti*, who died at *Ruel* near *Paris* in the Year 1629, to have been the Son of *Jacob*, as he pretended; and who reported there, that it was with the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſes*, that *Suſeneus* had Conquered and Murthered his Father, on the account of his being an Enemy to the *Roman* Faith.

But whoſeſoever Son this Prince was whom the *Agau*'s had invited to take the Crown upon him, he came to them with the Envoys they had ſent to him; and having accepted of the Crown, did ſwear to defend the *Alexandrian* Faith againſt all the world: Upon which the Monks, who were enraged almoſt to madneſs, by the Emperor's having commanded all his Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, immeditely *to turn* Roman-*Catholicks*, flocked to their *Alexandrian* Emperor from all Parts, declaring againſt the Emperor, as *another* Julian *the Apoſtate*; and *who was not content with having abandoned the Religion of his Fathers himſelf, but he would force all the People of* Ethiopia *to follow his Example.* By which tragical Exclamations they raiſed the Countrey whereever they came,

came, chiefly the *Peaſants of Laſta*, who have the reputation of being the ſtouteſt Men in the whole Empire. But the Emperor having got together an Army of Twenty five thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe, Marched towards the Peaſants by the way of *Gojam*, in the beginning of *February*, and having attacked the ſtrong Mountain of *Laſta* on all ſides, he was beat back, having beſides his General and ſeveral Perſons of the firſt Quality, Seven hundred Soldiers ſlain in the Action. The Peaſants fluſhed with this Succeſs, followed their blow ſo cloſe, that they obliged the Emperor to Retreat; and had not *Kebo Chriſtos* come in to him very ſeaſonably with a Body of old Troops, it was thought the Peaſants would have gone near to have hemmed him in among the Mountains, which if they had done, they would have had him and his whole Army at their mercy.

The Emperor is obliged to employ his Brother againſt them.

The Emperor, though very unwilling to have employed his Brother any more, was forced by the condition of his Affairs to do it, not having a Man, beſides him, that knew how to Command an Army; and accordingly he ſent to him, to come and take that Command upon him; *Raz Cella*, who ſince his Diſgrace had retired into the Countrey of the *Agau*'s, having received this Meſſage from the Emperor, yeilded Obedience to it; and having, after he had got into *Gojam*, placed Guards in all the Paſſages the *Agau*'s had into that Province, he repaired to Court, where he was received with great appearances of Reſpect and Affection.

But the News, which came a few days after, of the *Agau*'s being got into the heart of *Gojam*, which they were plundering at a moſt unmerciful rate, the Soldiers that had been left by *Raz Cella* to Guard the Paſſages, having all either run home, or gone over to the *Agau*'s ſo ſoon as they approached them, revived Peoples former jealouſies of *Raz Cella*, it being in every bodies mouth, *That he was in a Correſpondence with the* Agau's, *and had placed ſuch Men in the Paſſes, as he knew certainly would go over to them, or that at leaſt would not oppoſe them.* Whereupon *Raz Cella* that he might clear himſelf of theſe ſuſpicions, Marched with all the ſpeed he could towards the *Agau*'s; who having advice of his advancing towards them, withdrew, returning home full of the Spoils of that rich Countrey; which the *Alexandrians* ſaid confidently, *Raz Cella* might have prevented if he had had a mind to it. But notwithſtanding all theſe ſurmiſes, and that his having thus obliged the *Agau*'s to leave *Gojam*, was no argument at all of his having had no hand in letting them into it; the Emperor was, it ſeems, ſo well ſatisfied with his Conduct, that he gave him the Vice-royſhip of that Kingdom again, giving the Chief Command of the Army to the Prince, who was now become a mortal Enemy to the Patriarch and the Fathers.

He is accuſed of treachery.

The Prince abandons the *Roman*, and goes intirely into the *Alexandrian* intereſt.

The *Alexandrians* having thus got the Prince intirely in their Intereſt, begun to contrive how to rid the Court of all that were Champions for Popery in it; and having perſuaded the Emperor to ſend his Brother into *Gojam*, they

they got him likewiſe to ſend *Kebo Chriſtos*, who was the ſecond great ſtickler for Popery, into *Tigre*, whereof he was Viceroy, pretending his preſence there was neceſſary, by reaſon of its neighbourhood to the Peaſants that were in Arms.

Kebo, though he was ſenſible upon what deſign he was Commanded to his Government, yet not being in a condition to refuſe, he pretended to be very willing to leave the Court, giving this for his reaſon, *That he was not able to bear the coldneſs that increaſed in it daily for Popery*; declaring, *That he had much rather be ſlain by the Peaſants of* Laſta, *Fighting for the Faith, than continue Chamberlain to the Emperor, and be obliged to Perſecute thoſe Good Men who had inſtructed him therein, which he ſaw plainly the Court would be brought to do in a ſhort time.* Thus *Kebo* full of fears and diſcontents left the Court, and being arrived at *Tigre*, went immediately to *Fremona*, where having ſpent ſome days with the Fathers, *only about Ghoſtly buſineſs*, he advanced from thence with a ſmall Body into the Kingdom of *Amahara*, where the Prince had promiſed to joyn him with the Army; but *Kebo* having been ſent thither by the *Alexandrians* on purpoſe to be Sacrificed, no Prince came near him; and having waited for him till his Proviſions were all ſpent, the Peaſants, as he was retreating to *Tigre*, fell upon his Rear, and having Slain him, as he was Fighting Manfully to have made good his Retreat, his Soldiers, who were all in their hearts *Alexandrians*, ſo ſoon as they

The *Romaniſts* loſe ground at Court daily.

Their great Champion *Kebo* is ſent into *Tigre* to be Sacrificed.

saw their General fall, went over to the Peasants as to the Defenders of their Faith.

The Patriarch, who performed a solemn Office for *Kebo*'s Soul, was wonderfully afflicted for the loss of such a Champion; and as *Misfortunes do seldom come single*, his tears were not well dried up for this loss, before he received the bad News of *Tecur Egzi*, the Grandee that was to have gone Ambassador to *Portugal*, being killed by the *Galls* in an inrode they had made into the Kingdom of *Damotes*.

Upon the fall of these Two Pillars of the *Roman* Church, the *Alexandrians* about the Court grew bolder every day, and having observed the Emperor to be Melancholy upon such a run of Losses, they all waited upon him in a Body, one of them, in the Name of all the rest, asking him:

Sir, We desire to know how long we are to worry one another thus? The poor Peasants that are in Arms have no Quarrel with your Highness, but only for forcing them to be of the Roman *Religion: That Religion may, perhaps, be true, but it is what they do not understand, neither will they trouble themselves, being well satisfied with their Old Religion, to study a New one; and so being resolved never to be of any other Faith but that of their Forefathers, they have set up an Emperor, who has promised to defend them in the Profession of it, calling us* Turks *and* Moors *for having not only embraced a New Religion our selves, but for Persecuting of them because they will not do it.* The Emperor tho he returned them no answer to these passionate

passionate Remonstrances, encouraged them by his silence and attention to what they said, to ply him daily upon that point; desiring him, at least, to leave his Subjects *to their liberty of being of which of the Two Religions they liked best.*

The Patriarch hastens the downfall of Popery by two indiscreet acts.

But as when things are *tumbling*, every *small push hastens their fall*; so there were *Two Actions* of the Patriarch's which gave Popery a terrible shake, in the tottering condition it was in at Court.

The first was, His having commanded the Corps of an Eminent Monk, who had been for several years General *of the whole Order of* Tecla Haymonot, to be taken out of the Grave, where it lay Buried in a Church, and to be thrown into the open Fields, for his having declared at his Death, *That he died in the* Alexandrian, *and not in the* Roman *Faith.* It is not to be imagined, say the Jesuits, how great a storm this act of Discipline put the whole Empire into; it being in every Body's mouth, *That the* Romanists *were not satisfied with Persecuting People while they were alive, who would not turn to their Religion, but did Persecute them beyond the Grave; which puts a stop to the Rage of all other Nations and Sects of People, by Commanding their Bodies, contrary to the Laws of Humanity, to be taken out of the Earth, and thrown for a Prey to Birds and Wild Beasts.*

The second was, the Patriarch having committed a Woman to Prison *for being a Witch*, and, notwithstanding upon his having been informed that there was a Law in *Ethiopia* which prohibited People *to believe that there is any*

any such thing as Witches; the belief whereof, they say, is founded upon the Error of the *Manichees, That there are Two Independent Gods, a Good one, and a Bad one*; he commanded her presently to be set at Liberty; yet that was not sufficient to stop the Clamour, or to keep the *Alexandrians* from accusing the *Portugueses* of being *Manichees, and who in defiance to the ancient Laws of the Empire, were endeavouring to bring the belief of Two Eternal and Independent Principles in among them.*

There was another thing happened at this time too, which, though in it self ridiculous, made a great noise, and did Popery some disservice.

A Man, who appeared to be Distracted, running into the great Hall of the Palace, cried out, *He had a Message from Heaven to deliver to the Emperor*; the *Alexandrians*, who were believed to have made the *Farce*, having perswaded the Emperor to hear what he had to say, he told his Highness, *That it was now Three days since he was Raised from the Dead, and having since been carried up to Paradise, was sent by God to deliver the following Message to him:*

Hear, O Emperor, I have bore with you for some Years, expecting that you would have Repented of the great Sin you have been guilty of, in forsaking the Religion of your Forefathers; during all which time the Blessed Virgin has been on her Knees before her Son to Intercede for you; but I am now to tell you, That in case you do not Repent of that Sin; that God will Punish you with a strange Judgment.

Judgment. But notwithstanding, the Emperor Commanded the Fellow to be soundly Whipp'd for his News, the *Alexandrians* made great use of what he had said, it being reported over the whole Empire, *That an Angel from Heaven had appeared to the Emperor with a Command to him from God to return to his Old Religion.* But among other things, the Emperor is said to have been displeased with himself for having in the *first heats of his new Religion settled so much Land on the Patriarch,* which he would gladly have had a pretence to have *resumed* again, to settle it upon his Younger Sons; but whatever were the cause of the Emperor growing every day less fond of Popery, the *Alexandrians* being at him continually *for a Toleration,* he promised to speak to the Patriarch about it, and accordingly having sent for him, he told him, *He had done all that was in his power to have introduced the* Roman *Faith into his Empire, but he was now satisfied that it was not to be done by force, it being visible that his People hated it more than ever, since he Commanded them to embrace it.* Besides, *there was an absolute necessity of his granting them a Toleration, since if he did not, he would quickly have his whole Empire against him; his Soldiers that he made use of against the Peasants, being in their hearts no less* Alexandrians *than the Peasants themselves.* The Patriarch, who was extreamly troubled to hear this from the Emperor, told him, *That his Highness was miserably misled by Evil Counsellors, who under pretence of a Toleration sought the utter Extirpation of the* Roman *Faith.* But the Emperor urging still, *That something must be done to satisfy*

He opposes a Toleration when proposed to him by the Emperor.

ſatisfy the minds of his Subjects, the Patriarch was forc'd to promiſe *the Toleration of all ſuch Ancient* Habaſſin *Cuſtoms as were not contrary to the Faith, but upon condition that ſuch a Toleration ſhould not be Proclaimed*; becauſe if that were done, *the* Habaſſins, *he ſaid, would Triumph ſo upon it, as to conclude that the* Roman *Church was about to make Her Exit out of* Ethiopia.

While Popery was in this declining ſtate, *Dom Apolinar D' Almeyda*, the new Biſhop of *Nice*, arrived in *Ethiopia*, bringing a *Jubilee* with him, and Letters from the Pope to the Emperor and the Prince; which Letters, though I have great reaſon to believe they were writ in *Ethiopia*, in order to rekindle the Emperor's Zeal for Popery, which was ſlackened ſo much of late; I ſhall nevertheleſs ſet them down as they are publiſhed by the Jeſuits, leaving them to the cenſure of the judicious Reader.

Pope Urban *the* VIIIth. *To* Seltem Saged *Emperor of* Ethiopia. *Health and Apoſtolical Benediction.*

MOST *dear Son in Chriſt*; *The Stream of the River* Nile *doth at this time make glad the City of God*; *Fruits fit for the Banquets of Angels being brought from the thirſty Land of* Ethiopia *to the Palace of St.* Peter; *there being nothing that the Mother of Riches, or that* Africk, *which is ſo fruitful of Monſters, can bring to* Rome, *the Mother of Chriſtianity, that is ſo Precious and wonderful, as your Majeſty's Letters, addreſſed to* Gregory *the* XVth *of happy Memory, to whoſe place, though unworthy of it, the Holy*

Holy Spirit has been pleased to call us ; when we read them we could not forbear weeping for joy , to hear that the vast Empire of Ethiopia *had submitted it self to the Laws of the* Roman *Pontificate. O happy Prince ! who after having Conquered divers Nations , and triumphed over all your Enemies, have been able to exalt the Trophies of the Cross of Christ upon the Towers of your Provinces : For you do really plant Heaven in your Empire, so long as the favour of so great a King is sought after by the making a profession of the Catholick truth. Go on, my Dear Son, since God favours you, and* Rome *by its applauses exalts you to the Society of those Princes, who for having propogated the Kingdom of Heaven, have an immortal memory in the praises of Mankind ; for notwithstanding your Majesty's Empire is beyond the anciently known ways of the Sun, the Apostolical Senate which comprehends all the Nations of the Christian Commonwealth beholdeth all your Heroick Actions, giving manifold applauses on the Theatre of the world to your Majesty, and to all that are employed by you, in suppressing the rashness of Rebels, and in breaking the horns of Fiends. We the Vicar of the Almighty Majesty in this Throne, which all Christians do with bended knees adore, have turned the eyes of our Apostolical solicitude towards your Majesty, praying that the most exalted Arbiter of Princes, may send his Angels to be Soldiers in your Triumphant Armies ; we are not ignorant of what some people drive at, for we behold whole Legions of Devils fighting against the Scepter of Christ, which is the strength of your Majesty's Right-arm ; we know the Professors of false Doctrines do likewise whet their Tongues as a Sword , that so they may with the poison of their Impiety infect the Bread of*

Life

Life. Assume a courage therefore worthy of the Race of David, *in whom the House of* Ethiopia *glories as in their Ancestor; who when such people placed their Camps against him, did put his trust in God, and so found by Experience, that the name of the Lord was the Tower of* David, *guarded by an heavenly Host, and praised by a victorious Army. My most dear Son, it is undoubtedly as you write, that the Pests of their Countrey, and the Disturbers of the people shall not, God assisting you, be suffered to reign. We do most affectionately impart our Apostolical Benediction to your self, and your best Brother, and to all your Royal Family and faithful People; and shall pray continually that you may always have the Arms of light from the Sanctuary of the Divinity; and we do here with the keys of the Pontiff open unto you the Treasure of the heavenly Indulgence; with whose healthful riches we do at this time bless the* Ethiopick *Church; we shall likewise be always mindful to sollicit the most Powerful King of* Spain, *to grant you all that you shall desire of the* Austrian *House. Most Dear Son, we do embrace you in the arms of our Apostolical Charity; and carrying you in our hearts, we shall always adorn you with the Patronage of our Pontificate; and while you do with a Royal Piety venerate the Patriarch of* Ethiopia, *and his Coadjutors, you give Examples to others to honour the Priesthood; and do whet the sollicitude of holy Prelates to labour in* Ethiopia; *we wish you joy of the obedience of your people, who so long as a Religious King fights under the standard of Christ, do never Desert him.*

Dated at *Rome* at St. *Peter's*, under the Ring of the Fisherman, this First of *February*, 1627. in the Fourth Year of our Pontificate.

Pope

Pope Urban *the* VIII*th's Letter to the Prince.*

Our Most Beloved Son in Christ, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

THE *Wealth of* Nile *floweth to the glory of your Name; and you the Son of the* Ethiopick *Empire, do grow up in the hopes of a most powerful Principality; you do nevertheless understand, God having taught you, how miserable you had been, had you not drank of the streams of the Gospel, out of the Fountain of the Catholick Church; and if you had not by adoring St.* Peter *in the* Roman *Pontificate, been made the Son of God, whose Possession and Workmanship the whole frame of Heaven and Earth is in the* Roman *Church. The holy Quire of Reigning Priests, and of Obedient Nations, do applaud the Heir that is to rule in* Ethiopia *with Christian Virtue; rejoicing that a Kingdom is prepared for you, out of which your triumphant Father, the Scepter of whose Empire is the Rod of Direction, do's thorough the Divine Assistance, extirpate the Synagogue of Satan; you having been Educated in the Domestick imitation of such splendid virtues; and being in a Post that draws the eyes of Heaven and Earth upon you. Such Councils are expected from your Wisdom as are to be like the lights of the Holy Spirit, and the Thunderbolts of the Divine Vengeance. And being it is thus, beloved Son, you must not think of living at ease in your Father's Palace, before you have made all* Ethiopia *throw it self at the feet of St.* Peter, *that so they may find Heaven in the Vatican: For the Doctrines of the Pope, will not*

Urban's Letter to the Prince.

not be only the hope of Salvation to you, but they will be also the Anchor of quietness, and the safety of your Dominions. We do embrace you, most Dear Son, with the Arms of Apostolical Charity, and do wish you an obedient people and favourable Angels amidst the Trophies of your Arms, and the Joys of your Prosperity; and we do from the bottom of our heart impart our fatherly Benediction to you.

Dated at *Rome* at St. *Peter*'s, under the Ring of the Fisherman, the Twenty Eighth of *December*, 1630. in the Seventh Year of our Pontificate.

Now besides that, the Phrase of these Letters do very much resemble that of the Patriarch *Mendez*, who affected a Tinsil Oratory in every thing he writ: That to the Prince bears Date the same Month of the same Year when it was deliver'd.

The Emperor's Zeal revived by this Letter, and a *Jubilee*.

This *Jubilee*, notwithstanding it was Laughed at by the *Habassins*, who asked by what Authority the Pope pretended to forgive Sins, is said to have warmed the Emperor's Zeal so for Popery again, that the Discourse of a Toleration seemed to be quite laid aside by him.

The new Viceroy of *Gojam*, *Raz Cella* having been quickly turned out of that Government, was so enraged at this change in the Emperor's mind, that he was for deposing him presently as an irreconcileable Enemy to their Religion, and for declaring the Prince, who was a hearty Friend to it, Emperor in his room;

room ; and being encouraged ſo to do, by the Monks and *Alexandrians* that were about him, he proclaimed the Prince *Baſilides* Emperor of *Ethiopia*, at the head of his Army ; and having done it, diſpatch'd a Courier to him to acquaint him therewith, and to deſire him to join the Army he had the command of, with his, that they might be able to ſubdue all the Enemies of their Religion ; but the Prince was ſo far from being pleaſed with the Viceroy's having *proclaimed him Emperor*, that to ſatisfy his Father of his having *had no hand in it*, he ſent the Courier that had brought him the firſt news of it to him *in chains*, to puniſh him as he ſhould think fit. The Fathers, whoſe Church of *Collela* was but at a ſmall diſtance from the Viceroy's Camp, were put into ſuch a terrible fright by this Proclamation, that they immediately ſhut their Gates ; and their Convent being built very ſtrong, as indeed all their Houſes in *Ethiopia* were more like Caſtles than Monaſteries ; they reſolved to defend themſelves until an Army ſhould come from the Emperor to relieve them.

The Viceroy of *Gojam* thereupon proclaims the Prince Emperor.

The Prince is diſpleaſed with the Viceroy for what he had done.

The Viceroy hearing how much the Fathers were alarm'd, and of their having taken all the *Portugueſes* of the Neighbourhood into their Gariſon, he ſent them word, That they had no reaſon to be ſo affrighted, for ſeeing they did not come into *Ethiopia* before they were ſent for, no body could blame them for having come, or for what the Emperor had done ſince their Arrival ; and being extreamly deſirous to have wheedled them out of their ſtrong-hold, he bid the Meſſenger whiſper

them in the Ear, That notwithſtanding all he had done, he was ſtill a true *Roman*-Catholick in his heart, having been forc'd to ſet forth he late Proclamation, to quiet the Minds of the People if it were poſſible; deſiring them likewiſe to ſend him the Horſes and Muskets that had been left in their Convent by *Raz. Cella*: but the Fathers not believing a ſyllable of what he ſaid, refuſed to open their Gates, or to deliver their Arms to the Meſſenger; which provoked the Viceroy to that degree, that he changed his note, and ſent them word, That *if they did not deliver the Arms and Horſes to him preſently, he would come for them himſelf; and that if they did give him that trouble, he would be at a little more for to teach them better manners than to diſobey his Commands.* And he had certainly been as good as his word, had he not been hindered by the news of a great Army advancing towards him apace.

The Monks, who were got in ſhoals about the Viceroy, adviſed him to do ſomething to ſatisfy the people, that he was in no Correſpondence with the Court, but was in earneſt to defend their Faith; adding, that there was no ſuch way of doing that, as by making Examples of ſome of thoſe, who to pleaſe the Emperor, had changed their Religion; the Viceroy approving of their advice, commanded a Monk who was his own firſt Couſin, to be put to death publickly for having turned *Roman*-Catholick.

The Prince, who Commanded his Father's Army, having received advice that the Viceroy was

was Marching with all the ſpeed he could to join the Peaſants of *Laſta*, croſſed the *Nile*, and by doing ſo, put himſelf betwixt him and them; and having brought him to an Engagement, had an abſolute Victory over him. After which, that he might fully ſatisfy his Father of the Viceroy's not having had the leaſt encouragement from him to proclaim him Emperor, he ſent him with ſeveral of his Chief Officers Priſoners to him, that if he would give himſelf the trouble, he might examine that matter to the bottom. The Emperor, who could not but take this extreamly well of the Prince, having examined the Viceroy and his Officers, commanded Seven of them to be preſently put to death, Six of which are ſaid to have died *Roman*-Catholicks; which the Seventh was ſo far from doing, that when one of the Fathers told him at the place of Execution, *That he would be Damned for him if he were not Damned if he died out of the Communion of the* Roman *Church*; he bid the Father *look to himſelf, that he be not Damned upon his own account, for he was reſolved to venture his Soul with the* Alexandrian *Faith, by dying in it.* Behold a Miracle, ſay the *Jeſuits*; the Seven bodies being after they were Executed thrown to the Dogs, they all fell preſently upon the *Alexandrian* body, and eat it up bones and all, without ſo much as offering to touch or ſmell at any of the Six *Roman*-Catholicks bodies that lay before them. One of the Viceroy's Chief Servants continuing to rail againſt Popery, and the Emperor for forcing it upon his Subjects, was hanged by the thigh upon an Iron hook

He marcheth againſt him.

He routs the *Croiſade* and ſends the Viceroy priſoner to his Father.

that was driven into a Tree; and after having hung thereon for some time, for persisting in his railing, he had his Tongue cut out; the Viceroy himself being secretly put to death a few days after. The Emperor having none now to deal with but the Peasants of *Lasta*, advanced towards them in person with a great Army; and having beat them out of three or four of their strongest Mountains, was in hopes to have reduced them all to his obedience in a short time; but the sturdy Peasants were so far from being terrified into a submission by those ill successes, that they fell upon the Viceroy of *Begameder* in his Quarters; and having made a great slaughter among his men, obliged him to retreat in great disorder. The Emperor, who was grown *old and timerous*, apprehending the Peasants to have been much stronger than they were, and fearing lest he might be hemmed in by them among the Mountains, retired in a great Consternation, his Rear being closely pursued by the Peasants for some Leagues. The *Alexandrians* observing the Emperor's Spirits to be much dejected by the disgrace of this Campaign, renewed their Remonstrances to him, some of them asking him, *Whether he thought it made a Prince look great in History, to have been continually fighting with his own Subjects, and especially his Peasants?* Others telling him plainly, *That if he did not speedily grant his Subjects a Toleration, that he would be Deserted by his whole Army, who would fight no longer against their Countreymen, only for defending the Religion of their Forefathers, and which they themselves were of, no less than the Peasants.*

The Emperor is defeated by the Peasants of *Lasta*.

He is passionately addressed to for a Toleration.

ſants. The Emperor promiſed them to ſpeak to the Patriarch about it; and having accordingly ſent for him, he told him again, *That he could not but be ſenſible of his having done all that lay in his power for to have eſtabliſhed the* Roman *Faith in his Empire; and that whereas he had endeavoured to force his Subjects to embrace it, he was now ſatisfied that there was no bringing them to it by that Method, it being viſible to every body that his having uſed it had had no other effect but to increaſe his peoples averſion for that Religion.* He told him farther, that he had reaſon to fear, *That if he did not quickly grant a Toleration, that he ſhould be Deſerted by his whole Court and Army*; but not being willing to do any thing in that matter without his conſent, he had therefore ſent for him to adviſe with him about the manner of it; adding, *Something muſt be done, and that ſpeedily, to quiet the minds of the people.* The Patriarch, who was extreamly troubled to hear the Emperor ſpeak of a Toleration again, made anſwer, That *his Highneſs was miſerably miſled by evil Counſellors, who under pretence of a Toleration, deſigned the utter Extirpation of the* Roman *Faith*; but the Emperor urging ſtill the neceſſity there was thereof, the Patriarch was forc'd to promiſe to give way *to the Toleration of all ſuch* Habaſſin *Cuſtoms as were not contrary to the* Roman *Faith*; but upon condition *that the ſaid Toleration ſhould not be proclaimed*, that ſo it might look more like *a Connivence* than a *Toleration*: Whereupon it was concerted betwixt them, that the *Habaſſins* ſhould be Tolerated *as to Three things*, one was *the obſervation of Saturday*; the Second, *the*

He ſpeaks to the Patriarch about it, and will not be deni'd.

Fasting on Wednesdays *and not on* Saturdays; and the third was, *that they might use their ancient Offices according to his Emendations of them.*

The *Alexandrians* being acquainted by the Emperor with what the Patriarch was willing to grant them, seemed to accept of it very thankfully; only they told him it must be proclaimed, for if that were not done, it would have no effect at all on the minds of the people; which was the only end for which they had desired it; and not for their own sakes, who pretended to be so abundantly satisfi'd with the Doctrines and Customs of Popery, as to wish the people could without disturbing the Peace of the Empire, be brought to embrace it. And so having prevailed with the Emperor that it should be proclaimed; proclaimed it was, and that with extraordinary Solemnities; first in the Camp, and afterwards over the whole Empire, to the great Joy of the people; they that understood how it truly was, reckoning it however a good beginning; but for the generality they believed it to be a Toleration of the whole of their Religion.

The Toleration is proclaimed.

The Patriarch hearing of the *Toleration* having been *proclaimed*, and of the people rejoicing at it, as a *Toleration of their whole Religion*, he immediately drew up the following protestation against it, and sent it to the Emperor.

The Patriarch's protestation against it.

NOtwithstanding I told your Highness, *That your Subjects might be allowed to fast on* Wednesdays *instead of* Saturdays, *and might use*

use their Offices, as by me amended; and excepting Easter *and the Festivities depending thereon, that they might observe their Holidays as formerly; nevertheless I declared to your Highness at the same time, that it was not to be done by Proclamation, which as he that publisheth them, publisheth them as he thinks fit; so all that hear them, do understand and interpret them as they like best, as we see it has happened in the present case; for though I am satisfi'd that your Highness designed to grant no more by your Proclamation, but what was agreed on between us; yet as I am told, all the news every where is, that your Highness hath by a Proclamation commanded all your Subjects to return to the* Alexandrian *Faith; upon which conceit there have been extravagant rejoicings in your Highness's own Camp, to the great Mortification of all true Catholicks. Whatever it was that induced your Highness to do this, know you certainly, that God will one day call you to a strict account for it. And that I and the Bishop to whom the Holy Ghost hath committed the Government of this Church, which Christ purchased with his blood, as it is said in the* Acts *of the Apostles, may not be partakers of the same Condemnation, We do jointly declare to your Highness, That in this Proclamation you have not observed that order that you ought to have done, which being a business of an Ecclesiastical nature, the publication thereof did not belong to your Highness, but to us.*

Your Highness would do well to remember what the high Priest Azarias *said to King* Ozias, *in the Twenty Sixth Chapter of the second Book of* Chronicles; O Ozias, *it is not your Office to offer Incense to the Lord, but it is the Office of the*

Priests and the Sons of Aaron, *who were Consecrated to that Ministry. Therefore come forth of the Sanctuary, and despise not, for this thing will not be for your Honour in the sight of God. Your Highness would do well likewise to remember the punishment which immediately befel that King thereupon. And since it was not thought sufficient to have these Proclamations published only in the* Church, *but it must be done also in the Camp, your Highness before you ordered that, ought to have consulted with some of the Fathers, or some other of your* Chaplains, *or with some person authorized by us to that purpose, who would have taken care to have prevented the offence that it has given; for we are informed by some that were present at the Solemnity, that the people after the Proclamation were heard to say openly, That now they were to have all their old Offices again without our amendments of them; and were to observe all their old Holidays, not excepting* Easter *and the Festivities that depend thereon; and that they were not left to their liberty, but were commanded not to fast on* Saturdays, *but on* Wednesdays. *Wherefore, that the last error may not be worse than the first, your Highness must set forth a Second Proclamation with all necessary Explanations of your mind, at the framing whereof I do appoint Father* James Mattos *to be present in my place; and whereas it is not convenient that it should be done without the concurrence of* Abeto Basilides; *I do in the name of God require your Highness to acquaint him with it; and I do farther admonish you to pray to the Father of Light for Light, that so you may not fix your eyes so much on an Earthly Kingdom which is transitory, as to lose that of Heaven which is Eternal, and that on Earth likewise.* O. Patriarcha. The

The Emperor, though nettled with this Proteſtation, complied ſo far with the Patriarch's deſires, as, with the concurrence of Father *James*, to publiſh a *ſecond Proclamation*, wherein he declared, *That there was nothing he deſired ſo much, as to have all his Subjects of the* Roman *Faith*, and *that his intention in his former Proclamation, was only to Tolerate Three Cuſtoms that were not contrary to that Faith, and that he would never have done that, had not the Patriarch given his conſent to it.* Nevertheleſs, he reckoned he was bound in Honour to return a ſharp Anſwer to the Patriarch, for his having made ſo bold with him in his Proteſtation, which he did in the following Letter.

The Letter of the Emperor Seltem Saged, *cometh to the Patriarch with the Peace of God, who is Bleſſed for ever.*

The Emperor's anſwer to the Patriarch's Proteſtation.

HEAR: *We have received a Paper from Your Lordſhip, and do underſtand all that is contained therein, relating to the matters your Lordſhip gave us leave to do, in order to put a ſtop to Rebellions, and to quiet the minds of our People, that they may no longer fight againſt the Faith*: *The particulars were, That they* might Faſt on *Wedneſdays*, and obſerve their Feſtivities as formerly, *and* uſe their old Offices with your Corrections: *And being at* Dancas, *we were deſired by our whole Camp, ſince your Lordſhip had been pleaſed to Diſpenſe with our People as to thoſe* Cuſtoms, *to acquaint them therewith by our Proclamation*; *which we conſented to, the rather, that*

that the Rebels might not think that they had frighted us into such a compliance with them, which they would have done had we delayed the publishing of it any longer; but being now informed that their minds are pretty well quieted by what I have done, I have published a second Proclamation, according to your Directions; neither in this whole matter have we done any thing but what was concerted between us: *As to what your Lordship saith, of* their publishing what they please that publish Proclamations; and of their understanding them as they please that hear them; *that can proceed from nothing, but from your Lordship's having been misinformed; for, How dare they who publish our Proclamations, publish them any otherways than as they are; or they that hear them, understand them otherwise? So that I cannot imagine, that any body should have the impudence to say, That I had changed the Faith to the great mortification of Catholicks; when it is so plain that I have not made the least alteration therein; neither did the Hereticks rejoyce so much as you speak of, they having been all told before, that they were not to use their former Offices without your Emendations of them: They must therefore have been People of* Factious Spirits *and of* Ill designs, *that have put such stories in your head, since we have done nothing but what your Lordship had agreed to; neither did they, who published our Proclamation, either add or diminish any thing. Things being thus, your Lordship might very well have spared your bidding us* Remember *Ozias, and* comparing us with one who was Punished by God with the Leprosie for having taken the exercise of the Priestly Function upon himself; *which as he*

he ought not to have done, so we have never offered to do it; having only published a Proclamation, wherein there was nothing that you had not agreed to when the Roman *Faith first took footing in* Ethiopia; *it was neither* introduced into it by the Preaching of the Jesuits, nor by any Miracles that were wrought by them, *nor by no other means, but by our* being convinced, that your Faith agreed with our Books, *and that the Church of* Ethiopia *must therefore be in an Error; it was this induced us to Establish the* Roman *Faith by our Commands and Proclamations, contrary to the* Humour of our People, *because we believed it to be true; all which we did of our own accord, despising a visible Kingdom in hopes of one that is invisible. As to your Lordship's admonishing us to fix our Eyes not* on a Temporal *but on a* Heavenly Kingdom; How many Subjects have I had Slaughtered? And how many Provinces have I lost for having done so? *I need not tell you* their Numbers, *you know them as well as I do my self; so that I cannot for my life see, wherein I have offended God in this whole matter. Had we been forced to have embraced your Faith, you might then have had some cause to be jealous that we have a mind to forsake it, but having voluntarily embraced it, we cannot undo what we have done, nor destroy what we have built. I would therefore advise your Lordship for the future, not to have your Ears open to false and wicked men, that put such things into your head.*

The Jesuits never wrought any Miracles in *Ethiopia.*

The Emperor declares his Resolution to continue a *Roman* Catholick.

This Letter, though it gave the Patriarch several Reprimands, as it did also his whole Order, in denying that any of them had ever

ever wrought any Miracles in *Ethiopia*; which is very ſtrange, conſidering how many they pretend to work on all ſuch occaſions: Yet for the notice it gave him of a ſecond Proclamation, and the aſſurance of the Empeperor's reſolution to continue ſtedfaſt in the *Roman* Faith, he was ſo well ſatisfied with it, that he judged all things to be ſet pretty well to rights again; and reſuming his ancient courage thereupon, ventured to do a thing, which gave a terrible blow to his Patriarchal Authority. The caſe was this; A certain Judge having turned Monk, denied to pay a yearly Penſion, which ſome Lands which he kept ſtill in his hands were charged with, to a certain Pariſh Prieſt; of which the Prieſt having complained to the Patriarch, he preſently commanded the Monk to pay the Prieſt his dues; but the Monk, inſtead of obeying, denied that he had any Juriſdiction over him, appealing from him to the General of his Order, as the proper Prelate in all ſuch caſes; and the Cauſe coming to be Tried at Court, the Patriarch was caſt, the Judges having given their Opinion, *That the Patriarch having no more Power than their former* Abuna's, *had no Authority over the Monks, which the Patriarch had hitherto pretended to,* and had conſtantly exerciſed; having in this, and an hundred things beſides, extended his Juriſdiction beyond what any of the *Abuna*'s had done.

The Patriarch is baffled in a great point of Juriſdiction.

The Country being put in a pretty good humour by the Toleration, which, according to the Patriarch's fears, was every where extended beyond its intention, the Emperor ſets about

about raiſing a great Army to go againſt the Peaſants; who would not be ſatisfied with any thing *under the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Old Religion*, and *the Baniſhing the Patriarch and the Fathers out of* Ethiopia, *as the Cauſes of all the Blood that had been ſhed in it for ſeveral Years.* But the raiſing of ſuch an Army as the Emperor deſigned, requiring time, his Brother, by the advice of the *Alexandrians*, was ſent before to ſtreighten them with a Flying Army. *Raz Cella* upon his being denied his Old Troops, which were intirely at his devotion, would fain have been excuſed from going on this Expedition; but the Emperor preſſed him ſo hard, that he ſaw he muſt either break with him, or do it; and as his heart miſgave him all the way he went, ſo his Succeſs was anſwerable to his forebodings, for he was no ſooner got among the Mouniains, than he was fallen upon by a Body of Twenty thouſand Peaſants; and being Deſerted by his own Men, moſt of which went over to the Enemy, he narrowly eſcaped being made Priſoner. The *Alexandrians*, who it is probable had ſent him againſt the Peaſants on purpoſe to be beat by them, could not conceal their joy on the occaſion of this Defeat; the blame whereof they laid wholy at his door, which ſunk him ſo low, that he was never able to riſe again to do the *Roman* Church any ſervice. The Emperor fearing leaſt the Peaſants might upon this advantage have advanced towards *Dancas*, retired from thence to *Gojam*, to be at a greater diſtance from them; where having made up an Army, that conſiſted chiefly of *Gauls*,

Raz Cella is routed by the Peſants.

Gauls, being afraid to truſt his own Subjects any longer, he went to offer the Peaſants a Battel; who ſince their late Victory over *Raz Cella*, had ventured down into the Low Countries, reckoning themſelves ſtrong enough to Fight any Army the Emperor could bring againſt them. The Two Armies having looked each other in the face for ſome Hours, the Emperor, who had placed a ſtout Body of *Gauliſh* Horſe in the Front, ordered them to fall on, which they did ſo furiouſly, that at the firſt Onſet, which is commonly the laſt too with the *Habaſſin* Armies, they broke through the Peaſants main body, which Diſperſed immediately, and Throwing down their Arms, fled towards the Mountains; the *Gauls* purſued them till night came on; ſo that though few or none of them were killed Fighting, there were Eight thouſand of them found dead next morning; whereas had they had the Courage to have fought it out, they might, with half that loſs, have had a Victory; for had they but routed the *Gauls*, who charged them firſt, it is certain the Imperial *Habaſſins* would either have gone over to them, or have thrown down their Arms. The Court-*Alexandrians*, though they were extreamly mortified by this great blow, yet did ſo manage the matter, that they gained their point by it; for having perſuaded the Emperor to go next morning to view the Field, which was covered all over with dead bodies, and obſerving him to be touched with ſo direful a ſight, they came about him, and with Tears in their eyes

The Emperor marcheth againſt them.

He obtains a great Victory.

eyes told him, *Sir, You see how many dead bodies are lying here; Whose were all these? Were they the Bodies of* Mahometans *or* Heathens? *No, not so much as one of them, but they were all to a man your Highness's Natural-born Subjects, and our own Blood and Kindred*; we do therefore beg of your Highness to consider, *That this is a War in which, whether you Conquer or are Beat, you thrust a Sword into your own Bowels. Neither were these poor wretches, you see lying here, dissatisfied with your Highness for any thing, but for forcing a New Religion upon them: How many Thousands have already lost their Lives in this Quarrel? and how many Thousands more must be Massacred before Popery can be established in* Ethiopia? *Wherefore, for God's sake, Sir, let your People alone with the Religion of their Fathers; which you must either do, or resolve to destroy your Empire with your own hands.* We must tell your Highness farther, That the very *Gauls and Heathens do condemn us for what we are doing,* calling us *Apostates* and *Renegado's for having forsaken the Religion of our Ancestors.* And that they might clinch the matter, the Prince and *Amana Christos,* had got the *Gauls,* as the Emperor passed by them, to cry out, *That they would serve him no longer, being quite weary of Cutting poor Mens Throats for no other reason but because they would not leave the Religion they had been Born and Bred in.* The Empress interposed likewise, and desired him *for God's sake, and his own, and his Posterities, not to go on destroying his Subjects at such a merciless rate; and to consider that in all his Wars with them, he did, as it were, but cut off his left hand with*

He is moved by the passionate Remonstrances of the Grandees and others, to restore the *Alexandrian* Religion.

with his right; and whether any thing could be more dishonourable, than for a Prince to employ Foreigners and Heathens to Massacre his Christian Subjects; and all this to introduce a Religion into Ethiopia, *which it was plain to all the World, it would never be reconciled to?*

These passionate Remonstrances one upon the neck of another, together with the sad sight of so many dead bodies, did affect the Emperor so much, that instead of returning to *Dancaz* in triumph after so great a Victory, he returned thither so extreamly disconsolate, that he did not care to see or speak with any body.

The Patriarch, Bishops, and Fathers, hearing how things went, hastened to Court, not to *Congratulate* the Emperor upon his late Victory, for that their Friends had told them, he *could not bear*, but to see if they could get him out of the hands of the *Alexandrians*, who at present were in full possession of him, the Champions of the *Roman* Faith being all either Dead, or in Disgrace at Court.

We are not told what passed betwixt the Emperor and the Patriarch at his first Audience; but whatever it was, a great Council was called a few days after, to consider the state of the Empire, and by what means the Peace thereof might be restored; in which it was quickly agreed, *That there was no other way of doing it, but by restoring all the* Alexandrian *Rites and Customs, and by leaving People to their Liberty to be of which of the two Religions they pleased.* This Resolution is said to have been opposed by one *Abithaca Johanes*, a Nephew of the Empe-

peror's,

ror's, who told the Council boldly, *That all the Miseries of* Ethiopia *were owing to their Sins, and not to Popery's having been Established in it.* To whom the Council gave no other answer, but that *something must be done to restore the Empire to its former peace; and that there was nothing would do it, but what they had agreed to do.* The Patriarch being alarm'd with this resolution of the Council, sent immediately to demand an audience of the Emperor; and having obtained one with some difficulty, he went on the Twentieth of *June* 1632, attended by the Bishop of *Nice*, and Five Fathers, to wait upon him; to whom lying in Bed very pensive, he deliver'd the following Speech, the Bishop and Five Fathers standing behind him.

The Patriarch and Fathers wait upon him to divert him from doing it.

SIR, *I thought we had had the Victory in the last Fight, but I now begin to understand that we had the worst on't; for notwithstanding in reality the design of the Rebels was to have taken your Crown from you, nevertheless what they gave out was, that they fought only to have the Religion of their Fathers restored; so that if they should gain that point, though they were beat, they may be reckoned to have been Victorious; but as before the Engagement was the proper time for the making of Vows and Promises, so now is the time for fulfilling them. In order to Engage God to confer more such mercies upon you, who by this last Victory has as it were set his seal to all the former, and that for no other end but to oblige your Highness to advance his holy Faith, under the banner whereof you obtained it. Besides, it was the Catholicks that are in your Ar-*

my that did the work, and who are not so few as your Highness is told they are. The reason why they do not appear to be numerous, is because they have no favour shew'd them; whereas if your Highness would but be pleased to call them about your Person, and bestow all Offices of Honour and Trust upon them, you would quickly see how they would multiply, and how by that means both your Empire and the faith would flourish; whereas of late they have been kept from coming near you, none but Serpents having been admitted into your Councils; a whole Nest of which Serpents *did on* Friday *last assemble together in the Hall of your Palace, where they treated no longer about the out-works of Religion, but laid the ax to the root, consulting together how they might destroy the Catholick Faith; which they agreed at last, to* put to *the Vote, by leaving the People and Soldiers to be of which Religion they like best; who whenever they are asked whether they will have Christ or* Barabbas, *will certainly prefer* Barabbas, *for having been of their own Office and Profession. Sir, Matters of Faith are not to be treated in such a manner, but are to be setled by Councils consisting of great numbers of Bishops, where they may be had, or else of Grave and Learned Priests and Friars: For though in Matters of State, these very men do not think fit to consult with every body, but only with persons of known Prudence and Experience;* nevertheless *in Matters of Religion, the* Otadores, Gauls, Mahometans *and* Heathens, *are reckoned to be good Counsellors; and are all called in by them to determine which is the true, and which is the false faith. I would have your Highness call to mind the many mercies God hath conferred on you since you*

embraced

embraced the Roman *Faith* ; *and though it is true there have been many Rebellions, which is a Plague* Ethiopia *never was, nor never will be free from, until the Faith is deeply rooted therein* ; *yet God has always been ſo kind to you, as to lay the Rebels at your feet, and particularly in the laſt Fight, when your affairs were come to a criſis*; ſo that *your Arm is not ſhortned, but extended. Remember likewiſe, that you did not forſake the Faith of* Ethiopia *out of fear, the Fathers being in no condition to oblige you to do it by force of Arms, but you did it purely upon your being convinced of its falſhood, and of the truth of that of* Rome : *Neither muſt you forget, that I did not come to you of my own head, but was ſent by the* Roman *Pontiff , and your Brother the King of* Portugal, *upon your having writ to them ſeveral time to ſend you a Patriarch and ſome Biſhops* ; in which affair if there *was any delay, it was occaſioned by the jealouſy they had of the fickleneſs of the* Habaſſins, *which we now begin to experience* ; *and which the King of* Portugal *had formerly had experience of. when he ſent* Don Chriſtopher De Gama *hither with a ſtout body of Troops, by whom this Empire was reſcued out of the hands of the* Mahometans (who had Conquer'd it) *and that not with an intention of keeping it to themſelves, but of reſtoring it to your Anceſtors, as they did : Neither had the King of* Portugal *ever any other view, nor did he expect any other reward for what he did for you , but only your Friendſhip , and the union of this Empire with the* Roman *Church* ; *to which end I and the Biſhop that is here behind me were ſent by his Holineſs and his Majeſty to you* : *Neither did we come among you as Beggars, but well ſtored with Books, and Pontifical Veſtments*

and Ornaments, they not being willing to charge your Highneſs with ſo much as the Maintenance of our perſons. Conſider, Sir, how juſt cauſe thoſe Princes will have to be diſpleaſed with you; and though they may be at too great a diſtance to have due ſatisfaction, God nevertheleſs, who is every where, will not fail to require it of you: Conſider likewiſe, what a blot this will be in the Scutcheon of the Lion of Judah, *and what an eternal ſtain both to your own and your Empire's honour, and how many Souls you will ruin by your Apoſtacy; which, that I may not live to ſee, nor the Divine Judgments that will befal you thereupon, let me beg it of your Highneſs to command my head to be here ſtruck off before you.* At theſe words the Patriarch, Biſhop, and Five Fathers, threw themſelves at the Emperor's Feet, to receive his anſwer. At which ſight, notwithſtanding the By-ſtanders ſeemed to be all *touched*, the Emperor himſelf did not appear to be in the leaſt *affected* with it, in ſo much that the Patriarch ſaith thoſe Verſes of the Poet were very applicable to him.

The Emperor continues immoveable in his reſolution.

Nec Magis incepto vultum Sermone Movetur.
Quam ſi Dura Silex vel ſtet Marpeſia cautes.

Only making a ſign with his hand that they ſhould riſe, he asked the Patriarch *with what face he could ſay that he had not ſhewed favour to the Catholicks, ſince he had favoured none elſe but ſuch? but the Hereticks,* ſaid he, *are numerous, and all that have rebelled againſt me, have given no other reaſon for their doing it, but my having changed the Religion of my Countrey. How many*

many Thouſands have I killed already in order to introduce Popery? And how many Thouſands more muſt I kill before I ſhall be able to do it? My People are all weary of cutting one another's Throats, and are all upon the point of deſerting me; I can do no more than I have done. Beſides, *We are not medling with the Faith, but only with ſome Cuſtoms; or if any are about changing it, they have not acquainted me with it; if you are told otherwiſe abroad, you muſt inquire abroad whether it be ſo or not.* For my own part, *I do here Promiſe, That I will never Decree any thing about Religion, without firſt Conſulting with your Lordſhip*: The Emperor ſtopping here, The Patriarch Replied, *That as to the Cuſtoms of Faſting on* Wedneſdays, *and of uſing their Old Offices as he had mended them, and of Obſerving the Feſtivities as formerly, which were all that his Highneſs had deſired of him, he had granted them all already, and was ready to grant them every thing that was in his Power, and not contrary to the Faith; wherefore ſince his Highneſs did not intend that there ſhould be any Alteration made in Matters of Faith,* he beſeeched him to put forth a Proclamation, declaring, *That as he was of the* Roman *Faith himſelf, ſo it was his Will and Pleaſure, That all his Subjects ſhould be of the ſame*; and that as *to matters of Cuſtom he was ready to comply with them therein, ſo far as the Faith would permit him:* In which requeſt the Biſhop and Five Fathers ſeconded him with great earneſtneſs, but to no purpoſe, the Emperor telling them plainly, *That he could do no more for Popery than he had done.*

The Patriarch, who was for leaving no ſtone unturned, went from the Emperor to wait upon the Prince, and having told him the ſame ſtory he told his Father, the Prince ſeemed to be ſurprized with the news, and returned ſuch Anſwers as would have impoſed upon a weak Man; but the Patriarch knowing him to be Maſter of a moſt profound Diſſimulation, and an inveterate Enemy to the *Roman* Church, gathered from his ambiguous Anſwers, *That without a Miracle the* Roman *Faith could not be much longer ſupported in* Ethiopia. So they all returned to the Patriarch's Palace deſperately afflicted with the preſent ſad proſpect of their Affairs.

The *Alexandrians*, that they might bring the Emperor under a neceſſity of executing what had been agreed on in Council, had induſtriouſly ſpread a report, That on St. *John Baptiſt*'s day their Ancient Faith was to be reſtored to them; which report having brought all the Countrey to the Camp to be preſent at the Solemnity, they then told the Emperor, That there was no remedy but he *muſt either Reſtore to his People the Religion of their Fathers, or run a great hazard of his Crown, ſince the People, who were come in ſuch* vaſt multitudes in hopes of having it done, if they were diſappointed would be thrown into ſuch a Fury, that no body *could tell where it might end:* The Emperor made anſwer, That he was willing his *good Subjects ſhould enjoy their Old Religion*; but that he might not be worſe than his word to the Patriarch, he commanded ſome of his Servants to go and wait upon him, and acquaint

quaint him with the neceſſity there was of gratifying his People with a Toleration of the *Alexandrian* Faith.

Za Mariam, who was in the number of thoſe that were commanded to carry this Meſſage to the Patriarch, being admitted to ſpeak with him, told him in the Emperor's Name and words, *We have embraced your Faith, and have been at much pains about it, but our People do not care for it*; *ſo, though it was really out of hatred to* Raz Cella, *that* Julius *took up Arms, nevertheleſs the pretence that helped him to an Army, was, that he would defend the Old Religion*; *who, with vaſt multitudes of People that had flocked in to him, was deſtroyed*: Cabrael *and* Guergis *uſed the ſame pretence, and had the ſame ſucceſs*: *And* Cerca Chriſtos, *and the Peaſants who are now in Arms, have no Quarrel with me, but for having prohibited them the exerciſe of their Religion. The Faith of* Rome *is not bad*; *but as I have told you formerly, my People do not underſtand it, and are very well contented to live and die in the Religion they were brought up in*: *I am reſolved therefore, ſince they are ſo fond of it, to let them alone with it*; *and if there are any that are inclinable to the* Roman *Faith, they ſhall have free Liberty to Profeſs it, as the* Portugueſes, *who have been among us ever ſince the Reign of* Aſnaf Saged, *have had.* When *Mariam* had done ſpeaking, the Patriarch asked him, Whether it was by the Emperor's *Expreſs Order that he had delivered him that Meſſage?* Mariam told him *it was*: The Patriarch made no other reply, *But that* Ethiopia *had never been without Wars before the* Roman *Faith was known in it,*

and that he would return an Answer to the Emperor after he had advised with his Brethren: Who having consulted together, drew up the following *Manifesto*, which they sent to the Emperor by Father *Manuel.*

The Patriarch's *Manifesto* against it.

YOUR *Highness has sent me word, That being upon the point of losing your Empire for your Zeal to establish the* Roman *Religion, you are resolved to let your People alone with their Old Faith, and that you will at the same time grant Liberty to all that shall have a mind to embrace Popery.*

Sir, My Affection for you is nothing inferior to that I have for the King of Portugal; *being as ready to condescend to every thing that is for the Interest of your Kingdoms, as you can desire, provided it do not clash with the Purity of the Faith; for as whatever is a Sin can never be for the good of any Kingdom, so neither can I grant any such thing, neither ought your Highness to desire it of me. There are two things to be observed in this great Affair; the one concerns the Peasants, who having never embraced the* Roman *Faith, your Highness may for some time wink at their living in the Heresie of their Fathers; the other, concerns those who have embraced the* Roman *Faith, and Communicated with that Church, and not only so, but have obliged themselves by Oaths to be always Obedient to her: Now to these your Highness cannot say, You may, if you please, live in the Faith of your Fathers, since it would be a grievous Sin against God in you to do so, as it would be in me likewise if I should either advise you to it, or consent to your doing it: And were it lawful for one that is a Foreigner,*

Foreigner, to meddle with your Government, or to give advice about it, I would tell you, that it is my Opinion, That your Highneſs will certainly Ruin your Empire by granting Liberty of Conſcience, which muſt neceſſarily fill it with Diſſentions and Civil Wars; For what but Blood and Wars can follow, upon one part of your Subjects being for the Roman, *and the other part for the* Alexandrian *Faith? And muſt not the having of an* Abuna *for one Party, and a Patriarch for the other, infallibly end in Two Kingdoms, and Two Kings?*

Whether the Patriarch believed the Popiſh Party to be ſo Numerous in *Ethiopia* as to have made a conſiderable diviſion therein upon a Toleration, or talked ſo only to terrifie the Emperor; it is certain, that the Toleration was no ſooner publiſhed, than the whole Body of the Court and Countrey returned to their Old Religion; inſomuch that Father *Manuel* happening, after he had delivered the Patriarch's *Manifeſto* to the Emperor, to tell him, *That by granting Liberty of Conſcience he would undoubtedly Ruin his Kingdom*; the Emperor taking him up ſhort, asked him, *How that was poſſible, ſince he had no Empire left to Ruin?* And ſo diſmiſſed him. And whereas formerly the Fathers, when they left the Emperor, uſed to be conducted out of the Court with Ceremony, there was no body now took the leaſt notice of Father *Manuel*, unleſs it were to make Faces at him as he paſſed through the Rooms; but the Father was not got out of the Court, when the Drums beat for the Publiſhing of the Proclamation

mation which he came to have put a ſtop to; the Proclamation was as followeth:

The Proclamation for reſtoring the *Alexandrian* Religion.

HEAR, *Hear*: *We formerly gave you the* Roman *Faith, believing it to be true; but innumerable multitudes of my People having been ſlain upon that account, under the Command of* Julius, Guergis, Cerca Chriſtos, *&c. as now alſo among the Peaſants; We do therefore Reſtore the Religion of your Fathers to you, ſo that your Prieſts are to take Poſſeſſion of their Churches again, and to officiate therein as formerly.*

Exceſſive Joy and Feſtivities thereupon.

Never was any Proclamation received with greater expreſſions of Joy than this was, there being nothing to be heard in or about the Camp for ſome Hours for the noiſe of the Trumpets, and of innumerable multitudes of People continually ecchoing each other from all quarters of the Camp with acclamations and ſhouts of, *God Bleſs the Emperor, and let the* Alexandrian *Faith Flouriſh.* At Night the whole Camp and Countrey was *Illuminated* with Bonfires; into which moſt, if not all of the Popiſh Converts *threw the Beads and Reliques* that had been given them by the *Fathers*; and that with ſo much *Contempt and Indignation*, as abundantly manifeſted that they had never had any *inward Reſpect* for their *New Religion*, but had only profeſs'd it out of fear.

The Patriarch and Fathers, though mortified to the laſt degree by this ſudden change of things, nevertheleſs ſince the publick Exerciſe of the *Roman* Worſhip was not prohibited, they went on ſaying *their Maſſes* as formerly; and

and on the Sunday following the Proclamation, the Patriarch himself *Preached* in the Camp, with *some Passages of whose Sermon*, (for he could not forbear reflecting severely upon what had been done) the *Alexandrians* were so much *inraged*, that he was advised by his Friends to forbear Preaching, till the storm the late Proclamation had raised, was a little abated, which, they said, it would be the sooner for its being so extreamly violent.

The Patriarch is advised by his friends to give over preaching.

But the *Alexandrians*, who could not presently forget how hard they had been rid by the Patriareh and Fathers when they were in the saddle, were never satisfied till they had all their Churches and Lands taken from them; and had obtained a second Proclamation, which Commanded *all the People of* Ethiopia *to be of the* Alexandrian, *and of no other Faith.* The Emperor did not long survive this Revolution, dying the *September* following of an Hectick Fever, in the Sixty first year of his Age. The Fathers will have him to have died in the Communion of their Church. But however that were, it is certain, he was buried by the *Habassin* Monks, and with their Offices, in the Church of *Ganeta Jesu*, which they had taken from the Fathers.

The *Romanists* have all their Churches and Lands taken from them. The Emperor dieth, and is Succeeded by his Son; *Basilides*.

The Prince *Basilides* being Proclaimed Emperor so soon as the breath was out of his Father's Body, *Raz Cella* coming amongst the rest of the Grandees to Swear Allegiance to him, was received by him with all the marks of Honour and Affection that his near Relation to him could pretend to; the Emperor, among other

other kind things, telling him, *That hereafter he ſhould look upon him, and treat him as his Father, rather than as his Uncle.*

But whatever was the matter, this kindneſs betwixt the Nephew and Uncle was not long-liv'd; the Fathers pretend that *Raz Cella*'s conſtant Zeal for their Religion, was the cauſe of it; and particularly, his having acquainted the Emperor with his Father's having appeared to him, and commanded him to tell him, that it was a madneſs to loſe an Eternal Kingdom, to ſecure one that was Temporary: But what is certain is, that the Emperor giving no credit to his Uncle's *Viſion*, had him arreſted and committed to Priſon as a Traytor, diſarming the Patriarch and Fathers at the ſame time, and commanding them from all parts of the Empire, to *Fremona* in *Tigre*, the Viceroyſhip of which Kingdom he had beſtowed upon one who he was certain would enter into no Cabals with them. The Order run thus:

Baſilides throws his Uncle *Raz Cella* into Priſon.

He ſends for the Patriarch and Fathers Arms, and Baniſheth them all to *Fremona.*

HEAR, *My Lords, what We ſay and write unto you; You cannot be ignorant of our being ingaged in a War with the Peaſants of* Laſta, *and of our Empires not having had one hours Reſt ſince this War begun: You muſt therefore ſend us the Muskets and Carabines, and all your other Arms; together with all the Powder and Bullets that you have in your keeping: We have ſent* Daniel *and* Miſerata Chriſtos *to receive them, to whom you muſt not fail to deliver them; and when the War is over, they ſhall all be reſtored to you again; or if you are willing to ſell them, they*

they will give you your price for them. There is an Alexandrian Abuna *arrived here, he has been for some time* Incognito *in the Kingdom of* Narea; *and who when I desired him to Confer holy Orders, made me answer,* He could not do it so long as there was a *Roman* Patriarch about us; *for which reason we command your Lordship to repair to* Fremona, *and to take all your Fathers, and Books, and Goods with you; we shall take care to appoint a Captain to attend you thither with a strong guard; with which Orders the Messengers carried a verbal Instruction, which was,* That if any opportunity for the *Indies* should offer, the Patriarch, Bishop, and Fathers, had free leave to make use of it.

The Patriarch when he was served with this Order, complained the Emperor was very hard upon them, and that he could not judge otherwise but that his design in taking their Arms from them at the same time he banished them to *Fremona*, was, that they should be all Murthered by the way; as to the Arms, he said, they owed nothing to *Ethiopia*, and as he was resolved never to give them away, so he was no Gunsmith to sell Arms. Nevertheless if they were resolved to have them from him, they might find them in such a place, but that he would declare to all the World that he was robbed of them; but having before the Messengers had seized the Arms, received advice that Father *James* was likewise served with an order, to deliver all the Cannon, Muskets and Armour for Man and Horse that were in his Custody; He sent

ſent for the Meſſengers and told them, That he now ſaw plainly what the Emperor's deſign was in demanding their Arms, and that he would therefore write to his Highneſs about it before he parted with them; but the Meſſengers being very urgent to have the Arms out of his Cuſtody, he agreed that they ſhould be depoſited in the hands of any perſon they would name, till he had an anſwer from the Emperor.

The Patriarch's Letter to the Emperor.

The Patriarch's Letter to the Emperor thereupon.

DAniel Miſerata Chriſtos, *and* Danaceos, *have by Virtue of an Order from your Highneſs demanded all my Guns, Muskets, and other Arms; I preſently ſhewed them all the Arms I had, and which are now depoſited in ſafe hands, until I have an anſwer from your Highneſs. On the ſame Ships with theſe Arms, there came ſeveral Cannons and Muskets which were all carried back to the* Indies; *only for the guard of my perſon, the King's Officers gave me Twenty four Muskets, and a few Carabines; of the Carabines I have not one left, having parted with them all to your Father, and ſome of the Grandees; and of the Muskets, I gave Fourteen to your Father, Two to* Raz Cella Chriſtos, *one to* Caba Chriſtos, *and one to* Guergis, *keeping Six only for the guard of my own Houſe and Perſon; which, as they are all I have, ſo they are all very much at your Highneſs's ſervice; though at the ſame time I cannot forbear telling your Highneſs, that your Father on ſeveral occaſions ſent Carabines both to me and the Fathers, with which*

we

we never did harm to any body, nor were they of any other use to us, but to affright Robbers, and other ill-disposed people. And whereas your Highness is pleased to Banish us to a place, to which we cannot go but thorough vast Deserts, we might reasonably have expected that you would have done us the same favour; but instead of that, to take the Six Muskets from me which are my whole guard, is in effect to take away all my Church-Ornaments and Books, which are my whole Treasure, if not my Life, this being to give the world to understand, that they have free leave to Murther the Bishop and the Fathers: This I know very well is the design of those that gave you this advice, though they will not let your Highness know so much; for though I am sensible how pure an heart lodgeth in your Highness's breast, and how like you are to your Father; yet you have undoubtedly those about you, that are contriving how they may have us all Murthered; and as there are several things, which they have Extorted from your Highness by their Importunities; so this of banishing us to Fremona *is one of them, which is done by them with an Intention of having us all Murthered, either by the way, or when we are there, of which your Highness is to know nothing until it will be too late to remedy it. The Lion when his Teeth and Claws are broke, becoming the sport of the Monkies; and notwithstanding the guilt of our Blood may lie upon others, the disgrace thereof will fall upon your Highness: For what can the world say but that you disarmed us on purpose that we might be Robbed and Murthered; and that after having ty'd us hand and foot, you threw us in the way of Soldiers and Robbers? I am informed likewise, that your Highness has sent the same*

ſame Orders to all the Fathers, which is really to treat us as Rebels, none but ſuch having their Arms taken from them by the Government ; ſo that with our Arms you take away our Honour and Lives. Now this being our caſe, your Highneſs would do us a great favour if you would command us all to be ſlain here , where our bodies will not be devoured by Wolves ; or if you would be ſo kind, as to command us to be put to death in the Camp ; I do promiſe to come in my richeſt Pontificals to undergo that Blow which would I hope be precious in the Sight of God. May the ſame God preſerve your Highneſs.

O. Patriarcha.

The Emperor renews his orders for baniſhing and diſarming them.

This Letter having had no effect upon the Emperor, whom the Patriarch for all his giving him ſuch ſweet words, and throwing all the blame of things upon his Counſellors, knew to be the moſt inveterate Enemy the *Roman* Church had in *Ethiopia* ; *Miſerata Chriſtos* was ſent back with a verbal Order , commanding the Patriarch immediately to ſurrender his Arms , and to declare upon Oath that he had delivered all he had. The Patriarch took this ſo heinouſly , that he told the Meſſenger, That he neither could nor would take any ſuch Oath , *Biſhops being prohibited by the Sacred Canons to ſwear* : adding, *His Highneſs might venture to take his Muskets from him , who being a Clerk was to make uſe of no other than ſpiritual Arms ; but that it was more than he durſt do to a private* Portugueſe *Centinel, who do not uſe to part with their Arms, but with their Lives.* The Meſſenger perceiving the Patriarch

arch was not to be perſuaded to Swear to the Delivery of the Arms, deſired that Two of the Fathers might do it; which being granted, the Fathers delivered all their own and the Patriarchs Arms, declaring upon Oath that they had delivered all they had; but when the Meſſenger urged the Patriarch after he had Diſarmed him, to begin his journey to *Fremona*; He made anſwer, That he would neither go, nor promiſe to go thither, before he had an Anſwer to a Letter he deſigned to write to his Highneſs.

The Patriarch's Letter to the Emperor.

The Patriarch's ſecond Letter to the Emperor.

DAniel Miſerata Chriſtos, *and* Danaceos, *have in your Majeſty's name commanded me and all the Fathers, to go ſtraightways into the Province of* Tigre; *and have given us the reaſon why your Highneſs has thought fit to baniſh us to that Kingdom: My Anſwer to them was*, That I would neither go, nor promiſe to go thither before I had your Highneſs's Anſwer to this Letter.

Sir, I did not come into Ethiopia *of my own head, but was ſent hither by the* Roman *Pontiff, who is the Supream Governor of the Church; and by your Brother the King of* Portugal, *after your Father had intreated him by ſeveral Letters to ſend a Patriarch; and as it was at your Father's requeſt that I was ſent, ſo when I arrived here, I was received by him and the whole Empire as their Paſtor and Father, all of them Swearing in my hands to be always obedient to the* Roman *Church.*

I have ſerved you all now theſe Seven Years, as Jacob *kept the flock of* Laban, *according to the Talents God has beſtowed on me, by Preaching, Adminiſtring the Sacraments, and viſiting Churches, as is known to all the world by ſeveral Books that have given an account thereof; and now all of a ſudden you are for removing me from the Poſt God and your ſelf placed me in; and for baniſhing me to* Tigre, *and from thence in a ſhort time to the* Indies *or* Portugal, *there to be affronted by every body that ſhall ſee me, ſince they cannot but think, that I who was ſo kindly entertain'd in* Ethiopia, *muſt have done ſome very ill thing, to deſerve to be thus baniſhed from thence. But ſuppoſing you ſhould not ſend me to the* Indies, *but ſhould ſuffer me to have my grave at the foot of the Patriarch* Don Andrew D' Oviedo's *Tomb in* Fremona; *all the* Indies *and* Europe, *nay all the world, when they ſhall come to hear of my being baniſhed thither, will and muſt conclude that it is for ſome great Miſcarriage that I have been guilty of. Wherefore, that I may be able to give ſome account of my ſelf to the world, I do in the name of God and Truth beg and require it of your Highneſs, and of all your Nobles, That you would be pleaſed to let me have the reaſons in writing why you have thought fit to baniſh me the Court; whether it be for my having preached any falſe Doctrine, or for having been guilty of any ſcandalous Crime; or for not having punctually compli'd with the obligations of my Paſtoral function, or for having been Inſolent in my words, or too rigorous in puniſhing, or for having been ſlothful or careleſs, or for what other cauſe.*

Your Highneſs may remember, that when your Father deſired that his Subjects might be permitted

to

to return to some of their ancient customs, that I gratify'd him fully in that matter; and that he happening at the end of our Treaty, to mention some other customs that he had not spoke of before; I told him, That I was ready to yield to every thing that was not contrary to the Law of God, one thing only excepted, which was the giving the Cup to the Laicks; *which, though not contrary to the Law of God, the concession thereof being reserved to the chief* Roman *Pontiff, the Successor of St.* Peter, *and Christ's Vicar upon Earth, it was not in my power to grant it; I promised nevertheless, at the same time to write to his Holiness about it, and to lay the whole matter before him with great sincerity, that so he as a faithful and prudent Steward might Ordain what was most profitable. What I did then offer to your Father, I do now again offer to your Highness, and do declare, That if your Highness and your Empire will but continue in the Obedience of the* Roman *Church, the head of all Churches, and will but follow her faith, that I will grant you all that I can with a good Conscience in the form aforesaid. Finally I do beseech your Highness before you send me away, to assemble all your Learned men, to Treat and Dispute with me about their doubts in Matters of Faith; for confiding in the Mercy of God and their good Judgments, I do not in the least doubt but that I shall be able to convince them of their being in several errors, and to oblige them to confess, that the Chair of St.* Peter *is such, That* the gates of hell can never prevail against it. *This in my opinion would be the best course you could take to quiet the minds of your people; for that if this should not be yielded to, what can the common people say, but that the*

Learned men of Ethiopia *were afraid to appear before the Light of the* Roman *Doctors*; *but having ſhut their eyes, do throw themſelves into utter darkneſs. What is offered in juſtification of their not yielding to this, to wit, that they ſhall incur an Excommunication if they do it, is intolerable*; *ſince the Patriarch of* Alexandria, *no nor the Pope himſelf, has not power to lay an Excommunication upon his Subjects on that account*; *and the reaſon is, becauſe ſuch an Excommunication would tend to the Deſtruction of the Faith, which is known and made manifeſt by the Diſputations of Learned men. It is likewiſe contrary to the expreſs command of God, and his Apoſtles, St.* Peter *and St.* Paul; *Chriſt having commanded his Diſciples, and in them his whole Church to go and teach all Nations,* Jews, Gentiles *and* Hereticks; *and again,* to ſeek and they ſhould find, knock, and it ſhould be opened unto them. *And how is truth ſought, or how are its gates knocked at, but by Diſputations? It is alſo contrary to what St.* Peter *ordered, who commands all Chriſtians to be always prepared to give ſatisfaction to all that ſhould deſire a reaſon of the hope that is in them*; *and in the laſt place, it is a contradiction to St.* Paul, *who told his Diſciple* Timothy, *that a Biſhop ought to be a Doctor*; *and writing to* Titus, *he declares wherein that Doctorſhip conſiſts, and that it does, in being* ſo powerful in ſound Doctrine, as to be able to convince Gainſayers. *Wherefore if your Learned men do think that we contradict the truth, why do they not endeavour to convince us of it, and not ſeek to excuſe their not endeavouring it, by pretending that by ingaging in a Diſputation with us, they ſhould fall under the Excommunication of Three hundred and Eighteen Fathers,*

thers; there being no manner of foundation for that pretence, since Hosius, Victor, *and* Vincentius, *the Presidens of that Council, were all the Legates of Pope* Sylvester, *the Master of* Constantine *the Great; who undoubtedly never drew the Sword of Excommunication against themselves to thrust it into their own Bowels; wherefore to flee to Excommunication in such a case, is to trust to a covering that cannot hide the ignorance of him that seeks to cover himself with it.*

Since your Highness has been pleased to take all my Arms from me, if I must go to Fremona, *I desire the favour of you, to let my Servants have the Muskets to Guard me thither, and they shall be sent back to you again; and if this should be denied, I hope your Highness will appoint a strong Guard of* Portuguese *Soldiers with Fire-Arms, to see me out of danger.*

O. Patriarcha.

Though one cannot but be touched to see a Person, who but a few Months before was in so high a Post, treated thus rudely; yet at the same time one can scarce forbear smiling to find a *Roman* Prelate advancing the Principle of the *Seekers* so high, as to make it to be *destructive of Religion*, and *contrary to the Commands of Christ and his Apostles, to forbid People under pain of Excommunication, to dispute about Matters of Faith*, denying it to be in the *Pope's Power to rob People of this Liberty*; notwithstanding he could not but be sensible that it is what the *Pope does every where*; and that there is no Doctrine whatsoever for which the Inquisition would sooner *Burn a man, than for*

The Principle of the *Seekers* is advanced by the Patriarch.

maintaining ſuch a liberty of Inquiry into the truth of Doctrines of Faith, to be the undoubted Privilege and Duty of every Chriſtian. But this is not the only inſtance we have of the Jeſuits affirming, *That the very ſame Doctrine may be true in one Countrey, and falſe in another.* The Patriarch's Letter having been read in the Council, it was Debated therein, Whether they ſhould gratifie him with a publick Diſputation; and though that was carried in the Negative, it was judged convenient, however, that an Anſwer in the Emperor's Name ſhould be returned to it: Which was as followeth.

The Letter of Seltem Saged, *cometh to the Patriarch, with the Peace of God.*

My Lord,

The Emperor's anſwer to the Patriarch.

HEAR what we ſay and write to you: We have received your Letter, and do underſtand all that it contains: As to your deſiring to know why we have turned you out of the Poſt wherein God and the Emperor had placed you: Your Lordſhip cannot but be ſenſible, that ſo long as we were under our Father the Emperor, we never diſobeyed him in any one thing; nor did we ever ſo much as open our mouth againſt any thing that he did; but were ſo ſubmiſſive to him in all things, that we never ſaid, I will have this, or I will have that; or I like this, or diſlike that; inſomuch, that I do not remember, that during his life, I ever did any thing of my own head, but did ſtill what he Commanded me. As to the buſineſs of your Religion, our Soul never entered into its Councils, neither

neither did we ever joyn with any Counſellors either to build it up, or deſtroy it. We need not be told that the Emperor ſent for your Lordſhip, and that the Fathers likewiſe came with his Conſent; as we need not, that ever ſince your coming he has been continually embroiled in Wars for endeavouring to eſtabliſh your Faith; Fighting ſometimes with his Sons, and at other times with his Slaves, whom he had raiſed from the dunghil to great honours: Inſomuch that from the firſt hour we were able to bear Arms, we have never done any thing, but fight in obedience to our Father's Commands, which we always obeyed. After the Battel I had in the beginning of this Winter with Ognadega, *our Learned Monks and People having aſſembled themſelves together in the Camp, took the confidence to tell my Father their thoughts freely in the following words*; Sir, How long are we to be plagued thus, and to tire our ſelves about things that are good for nothing? We deſire to know, When we are to give over fighting with our Kinsfolk and Brethren; or cutting our right hand off with our left? *What great difference is there betwixt the* Roman *Faith and ours? For do they of* Rome *teach, That there are Two Natures in Chriſt; and have not we always believed and taught the ſame, in affirming that our Lord Chriſt is perfect God and perfect Man; perfect Man as to his Humanity, and perfect God as to his Divinity? But whereas thoſe his Two Natures are not ſeparated, his Divinity being United to the Fleſh, and not ſeparated from it, and his Fleſh to the Divinity; we do not for that reaſon affirm them to be Two, but One; being made ſo out of two Cauſes, and that not ſo as to Confound and*

Mix those Natures in their Beings; but on the account of their being one and the same Principle, we call them by the name of that Union; so that our Controversie with them in this matter is of small importance: Neither was it the cause of our having had so much fighting, but it was because they denied us the Blood in the Communion, *notwithstanding Christ has told us positively in his Gospel, that* unless we eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not inherit eternal Life. *And notwithstanding that Christ himself, when he Instituted the Sacrament, after having given his Body to his Disciples, and received it himself, did not say,* The blood is in my flesh which I have given you; *but on the contrary, he said,* Take and drink, and divide it among you: *His Disciples doing as he Commanded them, and as he gave them to understand by saying,* Do this in remembrance of me. *Neither was this the only thing that discontented the People; but moreover the prohibiting them to Fast on* Wednesdays; *which St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, *and no fewer than Eight Synods, had Commanded them to do, upon pain of Excommunication. Neither was that all, but because they saw us Eat and Drink in the first week of Lent; Eating on the Morning of* Good Friday; *from which time till* Easter *they do never taste any thing: They heard likewise, that we received the Sacrament in the Morning on Fasting-days; and that the* Roman *Church permits People on Fasting-days to eat Milk and Butter, and to drink Water; having changed all the Festivities of the Year, and suffering Men and Women promiscuously to enter into the Church, without keeping any out for being unclean. But the*

the things of all others for which they abhorred us the most, was for saying, That they Baptized themselves as if they were Heathens *and* Publicans; *whereas, in truth, there is no great difference betwixt the* Romanists *and them as to that point: And because the* Romanists *treated* their Priests and Deacons, as if they had not been in Holy Orders, giving them Priesthood upon Priesthood, and Diaconate upon Diaconate; *and for burning some of their Altars for no other reason, but because they were made of Wood, and Consecrating those again that were made of Stone, as if they had been Profane before; The Monks were also inraged against the* Romanists *for not living like Monks, who are not to be left to their liberty whether they will Fast or not; and because the Fathers took state upon them, and did not visit them according to the Custom of Monks.*

For these and divers other reasons, the People far and near were much discontented, and said to the Emperor, Hear what we have to say, and either give us leave to live quietly, or knock us on the head, since the War does thicken upon us daily. *When the Emperor was told this by all his People, he, without our joyning with them in it, finding that there was no other way to quiet their minds, and that he would not be able to punish them much longer, commanded his Counsellors to advise together what was best to be done; who after a serious consult came to this Resolution,* That they must all return to their Ancient Religion and Customs.

Your Lordship in being acquainted with this, will know the reason why you are turned out of your Place, which God and the Emperor had bestowed

ſtowed on you; and that the very ſame Emperor that ſent for your Lordſhip, and gave you your Authority, was the Perſon that deprived you of it: Wherefore ſince an Alexandrian *Abuna is on his way hither, and he has ſent us word, that he cannot be in the ſame Countrey with a* Roman *Patriarch and Fathers; we have ordered you to Repair to* Fremona, *and there to remain. As to what your Lordſhip now offers, which is, That if the People of* Ethiopia *will but continue in the Obedience of the* Roman *Church, that you will diſpenſe with them as to all matters which are not contrary to the Faith; that comes too late now; for how is it poſſible for them* to return to that which they have not only forſaken, but do abominate, now they have had a taſte of their Old Religion again? *For* can a grown Man be born again, or enter a ſecond time into his Mother's womb? *Your Lordſhip further deſires, That we would aſſemble our Learned Men to Diſpute with you before you depart, about matters of Faith: This ought alſo to have been done in the beginning; beſides,* Is that Cauſe like to be ſupported by Arguments, which has been maintained hitherto only by Force and Violence? By taking Eſtates from ſome, and throwing others into Priſon, and Puniſhing others more ſeverely; and that for no other reaſon, but becauſe they would not embrace your Faith? *And as if that had not been ſufficient,* you have dragg'd great multitudes out of the Deſarts, who would have been contented to have lived there upon Herbs, and confined them to Priſons; nay, the poor People that would have been glad to have Buried themſelves in Caves, not having

The Cruelty of the Perſecutions raiſed by the Jeſuits.

having escaped your Persecution. *Now what a* Barbarity *would it be, to go and teaze poor People with Arguments, who have suffered so much in Deserts and Banishments? It would certainly be a very unjust thing, both in the sight of God and Man. As to your Lordship's desiring to have a* Portuguese *Guard to attend you, that cannot be; but we shall appoint a very Honest Man, and who has a great train of Servants, to convey your Lordship, and all your Goods in safety, to the place whither you are to go.*

This Letter gives us a great deal of light into the Affairs of *Ethiopia* at this time. For First; We see plainly thereby, that Popery, as to its Persecuting spirit, is the same in all Climates; it having no sooner got the Power of the Government of *Ethiopia* on its side, than it made the penalty of not embracing it, the loss of Estate, Liberty, and Life; and Herbs were reckoned too high a Diet, and Caves and Deserts too good a Dwelling for those that left all, and fled to them, to preserve a good Conscience. Secondly, That their denying the Cup in the Sacrament to the Laity, and the validity of the *Alexandrian* Ordinations, and not their believing that there were Two Natures in Christ, were among the chief causes of the *Habassins* having such an Aversion for Popery. Lastly, That Popery owed all the footing that it ever had in *Ethiopia* to Violence; so that it no sooner lost the assistance of the Secular Arm, than it came to nothing. There are two passages likewise in this Letter, which do seem to make it evident,

dent, That the *Habaſſins* do not believe Tranſubſtantiation; the one is, where they do abſolutely deny our Saviour's Blood to be in the Element of Bread; and the other is, where they ſeem to intimate, That our Saviour made his Diſciples underſtand what he meant, by calling the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, his Body and Blood, by bidding them Celebrate it *in Memory of him.*

The Patriarch finding that there was no remedy but that he muſt go to *Fremona*, and that the Emperor would neither lend him his own Arms, nor appoint him a *Portugueſe* Guard, did thereupon deſire him to charge ſome Reſponſible Man with the Books and every thing elſe that belonged to the Church; declaring that if that was not done, That he would not take them with him: The Anſwer the Emperor returned to this petition was very ſhort, which was, *That for his part, he did not know how to pack Goods, and that he muſt therefore e'en do it himſelf, and having done it, be gone with them.* And the Patriarch having deſired to know who it was that was to be his Convoy; he had word ſent him on *Holy Thurſday*, That they were two Meſſengers, and two Nobles, who would go well attended with Servants, and that he muſt begin his Journey next Morning; which being come, the Patriarch made his Farewel-Sermon; and after that was ended, he took off his Shoes, and having ſhaked the Duſt that was on them in the Air, he put them on again, and begun his Journey; on the Second day whereof he diſpatched the following Memorial to the Emperor.

The Patriarch begins his Journey to *Fremona.*

Now

His Memorial to the Emperor.

Now that your Highneſs's Counſellors do reckon that the ſecurity of your Empire dos conſiſt in the Extirpation of the Roman *Faith, which is the only true Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith; and in the Baniſhment of the Patriarch, Biſhop, and Fathers; I for my part, notwithſtanding I know your Highneſs is moſt miſerably abuſed by thoſe men, do ſay with Jonas,* Take me and throw me into the Sea, it being better that one man ſhould die, than that a whole Nation ſhould periſh. *However your Highneſs muſt know that the* Roman *Faith can never be deſtroyed, it not being founded on the mud wherewith the* Nile *fills* Egypt, *but on the firm Rock of St.* Peter's *Confeſſion, to whom Chriſt hath promiſed,* that the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it; *having alſo ſaid to him at another time,* Peter, I have prayed to my Father for thee, that thy faith may not fail. *Wherefore being now baniſhed for having preached the Goſpel, I can ſay with St.* Paul, I labour even unto bonds, nevertheleſs the Word of God is not bound.

Wherefore as Fathers when they come to die, or when they are to part with their Children for any long time, do ſpeak to them as Jacob *did to his Twelve Sons, or as old* Tobit *did to the young one, and as Chriſt when he aſcended into Heaven did to his Diſciples; ſo upon my departure, I will ſpeak to your Highneſs and your whole Empire all the truths which it imports you to be acquainted with.*

In the Firſt place, I do teſtify to your Highneſs, before God and Chriſt Jeſus, who is to Judge the quick

quick and the dead, *That the Church of* Rome *is the Mother, Mistress, and Head of all Churches, Christ having commanded her in the person of her Founder St.* Peter, to confirm his brethren, and feed his sheep; *that is, all the faithful of the world, who are all the Sheep of Christ; so that none can have God for their Father, but they who have this holy Church for their Mother, out of which there is no Salvation, no more than there was out of the Ark in the time of the Deluge; and I do farther declare, That your Highness and all that are in your Empire, who have violated the Oath you made in my hands, To live and die in the Faith and Obedience of the* Roman *Church, have incurred thereby the Excommunication which was pronounced by me and divers Priests in the name of God at that time, and by the Authority of St.* Peter *and the* Roman *Pontiff his Successor, from which you cannot be absolved before you return to the Obedience and Union of holy Mother Church.*

In the Second place I do declare, That I, so long as I do live, and am not loosed from that bond of Spiritual Marriage, which I have Contracted with the Church of Ethiopia, *am the true Patriarch and Pastor, and* Abuna *thereof; and that whosoever is or shall come from any part, is a stranger, and cannot enter into it by the door, it not being opened to him by the faithful and prudent Steward, to whom Christ has delivered the Keys of his House. Such a one therefore must be an Adulterer, in taking another man's Wife while her lawful Husband is living. I have been placed in this Chair by the true Successor of St.* Peter, *and that with the same Authority as St.* Peter *placed his Disciple St.* Mark *in the Chair of*

of Alexandria; *all that are in that Chair, and do deny Obedience to the Pope and his Succeſſors, being Patriarchs only in name, for the branch cannot bear fruit of it ſelf if it continueth not in the vine.*

In the Third place, I am to put your Highneſs and the whole Empire in mind of thoſe words of St. Paul, Be not deceived, for God, *no nor men,* will not be Mocked *by your pretending that you have not forſaken the* Roman *faith, but only in ſome cuſtoms; for it is plain you have departed from her by divers Hereſies; namely, the uſing of Circumciſion together with Baptiſm, the repeating of Baptiſm, the keeping* Saturday, *and the ceremonial Law about Legal uncleanneſſes, and diſtinctions of meat; and in diſſolving Marriages, many of you affirming that Chriſt is the Son of God by grace only: Others affirming that there are Two perſons in Chriſt; others that he has one perſon made of Two, and that he has not two Wills nor two Operations; others that he died without his Divinity, others that the Humanity is equal to the Divinity, and is every where. You do affirm likewiſe, that water ſqueezed from dry grapes may be Conſecrated, and that the Souls of Children are derived from their Parents, with a great many other things that are repugnant to the holy Scriptures, and have been Condemned and Anathematized in divers Councils.*

In the Fourth place, I do beſeech your Highneſs by the Precious Blood of Chriſt, and by the Bowels of Our Lady the Virgin Mary; *and I do in the name of God, and by the Authority which he hath given me by the Pontifical Oil that was poured on my head,*

as

as upon that of Aaron, *on the day of my Consecration, command you neither by force nor promises to endeavour to oblige the* Portugueses *that shall remain here to renounce the true* Roman *Faith: Nor to set any Captain over them that is not a Catholick by Descent, and chosen by Catholicks. And I do pronounce the greater Excommunication to be* Ipso facto *incurred, and do invocate the Indignation and Curse of Almighty God, and of the holy Apostles, St.* Peter *and St.* Paul, *and of St.* Thomas, *the Patron of* India, *and of St.* James *the Great, the Patron of* Spain *and* Portugal, *on all that shall any ways offend in this matter, or who shall at any time forsake the* Roman *Faith.*

In the Fifth place, I do advertise your Highness, and all and every one in your Empire, that there is no Nation under Heaven that has the like Obligations to another, as Ethiopia *has to* Portugal. *The* Portugueses *not having come among you, as the Children of* Israel *went into* Egypt *with Asses, to have them laden with Provisions to satisfy their hunger; but were moved to it purely out of Charity and Zeal for the faith. It is not above an Hundred years since they were sent by their King to his great cost laden with Arms and Muskets, and accompanied with a train of Artillery which is at this time in your Camp, with the Royal Arms of* Portugal *upon them, with their Pockets full of Money, and that not to make themselves Masters of* Ethiopia, *nor to Conquer it for their King, but to deliver the* Habassins *out of a* Mahometan *Captivity, and to free them from the Yoke which that cursed Sect had laid upon their necks; for which great Service, the*

they have been so ill rewarded, that their Children and Grandchildren were reduced to that Penury, that the King of Portugal *was obliged to allow them a yearly Maintenance. Wherefore I do beseech your Highness, to let them enjoy the Privileges which their Fathers purchased for them with their Blood; and which have been granted them by former Kings for their services.*

In the Sixth place, I would have your Highness remember, that several of the Fathers of the Society who are Eminent for their Piety and Learning, have come into Ethiopia *at divers times, not to seek after Honours or Riches, but to serve God and your people in much humility; and to teach them the true faith, some of them having given the greatest Testimonies of love that are possible, in having laid down their Lives for their Friends; which Three of them did, one after having been several years a prisoner at* Matzua, *and the other two at* Adel; *and those that are now alive have served your Father with all the fidelity of Doctors, Servants, and Slaves, as he himself has many times told me; all which notwithstanding, after they had built several Churches and Houses, they are now turned out of them all; and that in the midst of Winter their Churches and Goods being all given to the Enemies of the* Roman *Faith; the Fathers that were at* Gorgora *having in little more than three Months time been sent from three several places; they that were at* Dembea *and* Gojam *having been likewise turned out of all; notwithstanding all which hard usage, they continue to pray to God to Establish your Highness's Empire for ever; and that he would give you a House; hat has the true faith for its Foun-*

dation, and Heaven for its Roof. Furthermore I would have your Highneſs remember, That your Father deſired the Biſhop of Rome *to ſend a Patriarch and Biſhops into* Ethiopia; *at whoſe requeſt he ſent me and a Biſhop; we were both Maſters of Divinity, and Readers of the holy Scriptures: Neither did the moſt Catholick Powerful and Munificient King of* Portugal, *expect that your Father ſhould have remitted Gold to him to defray the charges of our Miſſion, or that he ſhould have taxed his Nobles on that account; but he took the whole charge thereof upon himſelf, which amounted to ſeveral Thouſand Oquea's, giving us alſo many rich pieces to make Preſents of, ſome of which are at this time in your Royal Palace, and in ſeveral great Houſes in* Ethiopia: *Neither did he ſo much as charge your Father with the Maintenance of our perſons, having ſent me yearly an Hundred Oquea's to ſupport my Dignity. Now all the return you have made to your Brother the King of* Portugal, *and to the Biſhop and me for all the charge and trouble that we have been at, is to throw us out of all at a blow, and to entertain another without knowing who he is, or from whence he comes; threatening us like Caterpillars, againſt whom when they come, the whole Countrey is up in Arms; ſo that according to the word of* David, I am caſt out like a locuſt; *you, in what you do, fulfilling what Chriſt ſaid to the* Jews, I came in my Father's name, and you received me not; *another will come in his own name, and him you will receive; the Children of* Iſrael *when they went out of* Egypt *carried not only their own goods, but the* Egyptians *alſo which they had borrowed; whereas we are forced to leave a great part of our own goods*

goods behind us; but since we must leave them all when we come to die, that gives us but little trouble; but what afflicts us most is, that your Highness should send the same Message to us, which another King delivered with his own Mouth to Moses *and* Aaron *in the Twelfth of* Exodus; Arise and go from among my people; *and that with the same haste as he forced the* Jews *out of* Egypt *by night, it being said the* Egyptians *pressed the* Hebrews *to depart suddenly, saying,* if they do not depart this night, we are all dead men; *imputing the death of their First-born to the presence and detention of the Children of* Israel; *whereas in Justice they should have attributed it to the hatred they bore to the* Hebrews, *who had been their deliverers, and to their own cruelty, in having thrown their Sons into the* Nile. *After the same manner* Ethiopia *ought to impute the just punishments they have received at the hand of God, to the unjust hatred they have for the* Portugueses *their restorers; and to their Manifold publick and scandalous Sins, some whereof I shall just mention:*

Most of their men are for having several Wives, and their Women are for changing their Husbands. Their Monks care not to have any thing more of Monks than the habit, chusing the Houses of the Court of Ladies for their Monasteries. The Nobles are for making themselves Lords of the Church and her Lands, indulging the flesh in all things, and would have their Pastors to be as so many Statues, in having neither Eyes to see their Sins, nor Mouths to reprove them, nor hands to chastise them.

Now so long as these Sins continue in Ethiopia, *the Sword will never depart from it. Open your Eyes, Sir,*

and follow the truth according to your knowledge thereof, and suffer not the good Nature and Understanding which God has given you, to be ruin'd by evil Counsellors; but do justice to your Subjects, remembering what God hath said by the Ecclesiasticus, That Kingdoms are Translated from one to another, and from one Family to another, by reason of Injustice. *And since we are not to see one another again, before we meet at the Tribunal of God's Justice, I must tell you plainly, That though I should not accuse you there, you will accuse your self; your Empire, the Gospel, the Councils, and the Books of the Fathers, and Doctors of the Church which I brought for your Instruction, and you have rejected, will all accuse you there.*

Nevertheless, I, the Bishops and Fathers, imitating our Master Jesus Christ, who when he was on the Cross prayed for his Murtherers, not attending to the hatred wherewith they persecuted him, but to the precept of his Father's and his own willingness to die for them; do from our hearts pray, that God of his great Mercy would pardon you and your whole Empire, and remove from you and it the Scourges of his wrath, which the examples in holy Scripture threaten them withal who will go on in their Sins. And whereas the Gauls *since the time your Ancestors broke the Oath they made to the* Portugueses, *That they would receive the* Roman *Faith, have become Masters of the greatest part of your Empire; so I pray God, that the remaining part thereof may not be lost on this occasion wherein there have been so many Oaths and Excommunications, with such a clear knowledge of the truth; insomuch that what Saint* Stephen *said of the* Jews, *may be truly appli'd to you;* You do always resist the holy Spirit

Spirit after the Example of your Fathers. *May that Divine Spirit, which is the Temple and Fortreſs of Truth, enlighten and ſtrengthen your Highneſs to know and love the* Roman-*Catholick Faith, which is the true way and life.*

Offonſo Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, Baniſhed for Jeſus Chriſt.

The Patriarch having been rifled by the way by a company of Banditties, arrived at *Fremona* on the 24*th* of *April*; and not being able to think of returning to the *Indies* to live there as *a Private Friar*, and where he knew *his Conduct* would be *cenſured*, if for no other reaſon for its having been *unſucceſsful*; he began to conſider whether he might not, in caſe the Emperor ſhould command him to depart his Kingdoms, which he every day expected he would do, find ſome Nobles that would undertake *to protect him* againſt him; but being ſenſible that that was not to be done any other way, but by giving aſſurances, that a *Portugueſe* Army would come in a ſhort time to ſuccor them, he immediately diſpatched *four Fathers* to *Goa*, to *ſollicit the ſending of an Army to them, as the greateſt Service that could be done either to God or the Crown of* Portugal; and having done this, he thought he might very well *encourage* ſome of the Grandees to take them under their protection by promiſes of *a Portugueſe Army* being ready to embark at *Goa*, to come to their aſſiſtance; and being informed that Prince *John Kay*, the Heir of their old friend *Bahurnagays*, was living, diſcontented,

The Patriarch ſo ſoon as he arrived at *Fremona*, ſends Four *Jeſuits* to the *Indies* to ſollicit for Troops.

ed, upon his own Lands which were Mountainous, and not far from the Sea Coaſt, he ſent two Fathers to him, to try if they could perſuade him *to undertake their protection*, by promiſes *of great things* the *Portugueſe* Army that was coming would do for him. The Envoys managed matters ſo, that they brought O *Kay* to promiſe to protect them, it being agreed betwixt him and them, *That whenſoever the Emperor ſhould command the Patriarch and Fathers to leave* Ethiopia, *that he ſhould ſend a Troop of Horſe to fetch them from* Fremona *into his own Lands; where, when he had them once, he promiſed to defend them till the* Portugueſe *Army arrived.*

He ſues to O *Kay* a diſcontented Lord for protection againſt the Emperor.

O *Kay* undertakes to protect him.

This O *Kay* you muſt know was one of the *chief Leaders* in *Guergis*'s *Croiſade for the extirpation of Popery*; which, though the Patriarch knew well enough, yet being ſenſible that he was *diſcontented* with the Emperor and the Court, and believing *Ambition to be much ſtronger in him than Religion*, he thought he might be a man proper enough for his purpoſe, the very Peaſants of *Laſta being made uſe of* by the Fathers againſt the Emperor, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. The Emperor, who was too *jealous* of the Patriarch and the *Portugueſe*, not to have his *Spies* upon them, having received advice, That the Patriarch was *caballing* with O *Kay*, ſent an Expreſs with a preciſe order to the Patriarch and Fathers, immediately to depart his Empire, telling them *if they would go to* Matzua, *there to embark for the* Indies, *that he would write to the Baſhaw of that Port, to treat them civilly, and help them to a paſſage.*

The Emperor hearing thereof, commands the Patriarch and Fathers to leave *Ethiopia.*

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The Order they were ſerved with, run thus: *From the day that Popery came firſt into* Ethiopia, *our Empire has never had one day of Peace, which was what it always enjoy'd before. Wherefore ſince our Empire is very near having been ruined by you, we do ſtrictly command you all to depart preſently; which, if you will do quietly, and go to* Matzua, *we will recommend you to the Baſhaw of that place.* The Patriarch, whoſe buſineſs it was to gain as much time as poſſible, writ thereupon a very ſubmiſſive Letter to the Emperor, begging moſt paſſionately of him, not to deliver him and the Fathers to the *Turks*, the moſt inveterate Enemies both of their Religion and Nation, which he would do if he forced them to go to *Matzua*, a Port which belonged to thoſe Infidels. But the Emperor was ſo far from being prevailed with to revoke his Order, that he renewed it with greater rigor in the following Anſwer to the Patriarch.

The Letter of the Emperor Seltem Saged *cometh to the Patriarch, Biſhop, Father* James, *and the reſt of the Fathers.*

The Emperor's Letter to the Patriarch to depart.

HEAR *what we ſay and write*: Aſma Guergis, Taca Chriſtos, *and* Melch Chriſtos, *have acquainted us with all that you have ſaid, and with all your excuſes when they commanded you in our name to return to the place from whence you came. In the firſt place you ſay, You did not come hither of your own accord, but were ſent hither after you had been invited by di-*

vers Letters. What, have you forgot the reasons I gave you formerly, why I was obliged to send you away? and I do much wonder that you should offer to give me the trouble of repeating them to you again; I need not tell you what hath happened betwixt you and the people of Ethiopia, *and what a struggle you have had with them to oblige them to embrace your Religion; but one thing I must tell you, That if you continue not to regard either the power of God who is above, or of the Emperor here below, that you shall not live Two and Twenty years, no nor one year, no nor half of one in* Ethiopia. *There is no need of telling you what Infinite Multitudes of people have lost their lives because they would not turn Papists, or how great Troubles and Persecutions my Father endured for your sake, since you cannot but be sensible of them, as you are also of his having given over your Religion, when he saw plainly he was not able any longer to support it; so that as it was he that first introduced it, so it was he that put an end to it. After which he returned to the Foundation of his Fathers, which is the Rock of the Faith of* Alexandria, *and fortified it so by his Proclamations, that it is never to be removed.*

As to your putting us in mind of the valiant Portugueses, *who came hither in the time of* Asnaf Saged *to defend the Faith, it is what we very well know, and we do confess that they did us very good service in helping us to peace; but as they never offered to destroy the Religion of* Ethiopia, *which was delivered by the Fathers and the Apostles; so our people never offered them any violence; but as they deserved much for having delivered us out of the hands of the* Mahometans, *so they were all well rewarded*

rewarded by the Emperor, having Lands given them where they had no Inheritance; which Lands are enjoyed to this day by their Posterity, none ever asking them the question, What do you make here?

As to what you say, of your having reserved the Absolution of the Excommunication you have laid upon Ethiopia, *so to your self, that none but you can Absolve her of it; That is easily answered: For when the Fathers began to Preach Popery in* Ethiopa, *By what means did they oblige the People to embrace it? Was it by Excommunications, or by doing any thing that looked like a Miracle? No, it was by neither of those methods, but it was purely by the force of the Imperial Authority: And did not the same hand that threw them into Prisons, set them at liberty again? Neither can you but be sensible, that there was not so much as one Person in* Ethiopia *that embraced your Religion voluntarily.*

As to what you have said of Ethiopia *being your Wife, it was no where ever Written or Decreed, That a Woman shall be bound to a Husband contrary to her own Consent, only because her Father and her Mother will have it so; for which reason your Lordship cannot but be sensible that* Ethiopia *was never your Spouse; since, as we have observed,* There was not one Person that belonged to her, that embraced your Faith voluntarily. *As to the Vow you speak of, it admits of several distinctions; some make a Vow to relinquish their Estates without turning Monks; some Vow to live and die Virgins; and others, not being Virgins, for the Love of God, to live Chastly: The force of all which Vows is resolved into their having been voluntary; which, when they are, they Sin that do*

do not observe them; the faculties of the Will and Consent being so in the nature of the Soul, as to Govern its animal Powers, which are the Flesh: This is a true account of the nature of Vows. And as to your pretending that you cannot leave Ethiopia, *because you are under a Vow to her, that need not trouble your Conscience, since you have not left her, but she has left you; neither do you flee from her, but she flees from you, as a Coward does from a Battel. We are ready to be your Lordship's Witnesses, that you Loved* Ethiopia *very much; as we are ready to be her Witnesses too, that she could never endure you, who have given her so many bitter Potions: Wherefore what we have to say to you, is, in a word, Be gone all of you to your own Countrey in Peace: And we do call God to witness of our having been no ways accessary to any injuries that you may have sustained; for as it was the Emperor our Father who invited you hither, so it was he that dismissed you, we having had no hand neither in the one or other; on the contrary, we have hitherto Protected you, and are at this time fighting with the* Xague *that Robbed you, with an intention of restoring all your Goods to you that we can recover; and as you have no reason to complain of us for your having been plundered, so that you may not be Robbed a second time, we have appointed* Za Mariam, *and the Nobles of* Sararoa *and* Amestea, *to convey you safe to* Matzua; *where, if you please, you may buy a Ship to carry you home; having also writ to the Bashaw of that Port, in* Arabick, *to use you kindly, and to suffer you to part in peace. As to the motion you have made, of returning to the* Indies *by the way of* Dancaly, *and the Port of*

of Bahur, *a way, which your ſelf excepted, none ever yet came; the Fathers and all the other* Portugueſes, *having come continually by* Matzua; *we muſt tell you, that now your Expulſion is determined, it is to no purpoſe to alledge reaſons why you cannot go; and that if you ſhould ſhuffle any longer with our Orders, that it will be your Ruin. Have we taken any thing from you that you have got in* Ethiopia, *that you ſhould diſobey us, and ſay you will not go? this is not right. Be gone therefore, without making any further reply or excuſe, your Expulſion being determined, as you will underſtand by the Order you will receive.*

The Patriarch perceiving that if he ſtaid any longer at *Fremona*, he muſt either go *voluntarily* to *Matzua*, or be ſent thither in *Chains*; the new *Abuna* who was now got to Court, and who I reckon had the chief hand in all *all theſe ſevere Orders, having as little compaſſion for the* Romaniſts, *as they, when they were in Power, had had for the* Alexandrians; he diſpatched a Meſſenger to *O Kay* to acquaint him with the danger he was in, and to deſire him to ſend ſome Soldiers preſently to help him to make his eſcape; ſending the Coadjutor and Six of the Fathers at the ſame time privately to a diſcontented Nobleman in the *Saroa*, to try if they could perſuade him to joyn with *O Kay* in protecting them; but though that Grandee, like a *Brutal Man* as he was, told the Biſhop and his Companions, *That he would have nothing to do with them*; *O Kay*, according to his promiſe, ſent his Brother with a good Body of Men to a paſſage within

The Patriarch ſends to *O Kay* for a Guard.

within a few Leagues of *Fremona*, whither his Confederate *Tecla Mariam*, who had been gained likewiſe by the Patriarch, had undertook to convey them in ſafety. The manner of their eſcape being concerted, the Patriarch and Fathers having put themſelves in a *diſguiſe*, ſo ſoon as it was dark, ſtole out at their back-door; and being come to the place where *Tecla* waited for them, they were conducted by him to *O Kay*'s Brother, who conveyed them to *O Kay*, by whom they were received with all teſtimonies of kindneſs, and for their ſecurity, were lodged by him in an impregnable Mountain in the Province of *Bur*, where they had not been many days before the Coadjutor and his Six Companions came to them, not having been able to bring any of the Nobles they had viſited, into an *Aſſociation* to *Secure* them.

The Patriarch and Fathers are lodged ſafe in *O Kay*'s Territories.

The Emperor was much troubled when he heard of *O Kay*'s having undertaken to Protect the Patriarch and Fathers againſt him in *Ethiopia*, and being ſenſible that nothing but an aſſurance from them of a *Portugueſe* Army could have tempted one of his *Principles*, who had on all occaſions ſhewed himſelf a *Zealous Alexandrian*, to have done it; he reſolved to ſend to *O Kay*, and to grant him every thing he would deſire, on condition he would ſurrender them to him, to diſpoſe of them as he ſhould think fit. *O Kay*, though overcome by *this Propoſition* when it was made to him, yet had too much *Honour to deliver People, who, upon his having promiſed to Protect them, had put themſelves into his hands, up to the reſentments of*

The Emperor treats with *O Kay* to deliver them up to him.

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an inraged Prince; neither would he upon any terms yeild to the *cutting off of Father* Lobo's *Head*, on which the Emperor insisted much, knowing him to have been the most *active promoter of an Association against him amongst his Subjects*: All the Court could bring *O Kay* to, was to carry the Patriarch, Bishop, and Fathers to *Matzua*, and there to leave them to shift for themselves as well as they could, and to suffer them to be notified in the Emperor's Name, *to depart* Ethiopia *in two days upon pain of Death.*

O Kay will not yeild to that, but promises to carry them to *Matzua.*

The Patriarch, when the Messenger had notified him, and asked him, *Whether he thought he had not been the cause of bloodshed enough already in* Ethiopia? Made Answer, *That he was under an higher obligation to the Emperor of Heaven not to leave his Sheep; for whom he was ready to lay down his life among devouring Wolves.* And having obtained leave to speak with *O Kay*, he asked him, *What he intended to do with him and the Fathers now he had them in his hands?* He made Answer, *Not to deliver you to the Emperor, but to convey you in safety to* Matzua, *where you will not be long before you will meet with an opportunity of returning to* Dio, *or some other Port belonging to the* Portugueses *in the* Indies. The Patriarch not at all satisfied with this Answer, after having told him, *That it was only to have avoided being sent thither by the Emperor, that they had desired his Protection; and that he had promised them oftener than once, to secure them in his Province until the* Portuguese *Fleet, which they daily expected, arrived with Succors*: Asked *him again, Whether he had determined to violate his*

his Faith with them? To which O *Kay* returned this ſhort Anſwer, *That there was no remedy for it, and that they muſt prepare themſelves to begin their Journey to Morrow.* The Patriarch finding there was no good to be done with O *Kay*, addreſſed himſelf to the Company, conjuring them in the Name of God, *To conſider what a wicked thing it was to be the Executioners of the expulſion of a true Paſtor and Patriarch, and of the Preachers of the Goſpel; and that by having a hand therein, they would all incur the greater Excommunication, from which the Pope only was able to Abſolve them.* But he could have no other Anſwer from them, *But that they would venture that, being reſolved whatever were the Conſequence of it, to execute the Emperor's Orders.*

In the Morning the Patriarch being ſpoke to, to begin his Journey, inſtead of that begun an *Harangue*, which was heard quietly by the Company till he came to *inveigh bitterly* againſt the Emperor and his Counſellors for what they had done to him. Whereupon the *Habaſſins* interrupted him, telling him, *They would not hear their Prince railed at ſo without a cauſe, and that he muſt come away preſently, for the Company waited for him to guard him to* Matzua, *and not to hear him Preach, or rather Declaim againſt* Ethiopia *and its Prince.* The Patriarch finding there was no ſtaying for him in *Ethiopia*, prevailed with O *Kay*, who, it ſeems, had a mind to *play a double Game* before he began his Journey, to wink at the Coadjutor and Father *Jacinto* ſtealing away to *Caſla Mariam*, and Father *Luis* and Father *Bruno* to *Cantibazara*, who had both promiſed to ſuffer them

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to abſcond in their Lands till a *Portugueſe* Army ſhould come to relieve them; and upon the Journey, he perſuaded *O Kay* himſelf by the ſame argument, to carry two of the Fathers back with him to abſcond in his Territories, promiſing ſo ſoon as he got to the *Indies*, to haſten the ſending of a Fleet that would make them all Princes quickly.

The Patriarch and moſt of the Fathers are put into the hands of the *Turks* at *Matzua*.

O Kay having conducted the Patriarch to the Gates of *Arkico*, and delivered him to the Governor of that Port, returned home with the two Fathers that were to abſcond with him; and the *Turk* having been told that the Patriarch had a vaſt Treaſure with him, did, in hopes of a great Prey, not only *receive* him at the Gate with *Ceremony*, but carried him home with him to his Houſe, where he treated him with a Reſpect that is not uſually paid by Men of his *Nation and Religion to Chriſtians* of whatſoever *Quality* they are; but this *Complaiſance* was too *unnatural* to laſt long; for upon the Officers, whom he had appointed to ſearch the Baggage, returning and whiſpering him in the Ear, that they had met with nothing of any value, beſides two ſmall Silver Chalices, he diſmiſſed his Gueſts very abruptly, commanding them to be carried ſtraitways to the Cuſtom-houſe to be ſearched there; which having been done with leſs ſucceſs than the Baggage, there being nothing found upon them beſides two ſmall Silver Croſſes, and a few Reyals of Plate, the Governor was put into ſuch a rage by the diſappointment, that he commanded them to be conveyed immediately to *Matzua*, where having

ving landed about Midnight, they were conducted by the *Baneans, the Friends of Mankind in general,* to a houſe which they, upon having received notice that they were coming, had provided for them; but they had not been many hours in their Lodging, before the Governor, who was reſolved to ſqueeze ſomething out of them before they went to *Suaqhem,* (the Baſhaw whereof had, upon the ſame Information of their having a great Treaſure in Gold and Jewels, ſent an Order immediately to bring them before him) arrived in the Iſland; and the Fathers very well knowing what it was that had brought him thither, went by times in the Morning to wait upon him with a Preſent of Six hundred Pieces of Eight, which they had borrowed of the *Baneans*; the Governor, though he took the Preſent, did it after ſuch a contemptuous manner, as ſufficiently intimated that he expected a great deal more from them before he parted with them. But finding there was no more came, he, upon ſome pretence or other, ordered a Boy that was in the Patriarch's Train, to be taken up, threatning to ſell him to the *Arabians* if he were not ranſomed with Sixty peices of Eight within half an hour; which Sum was likewiſe borrowed of the *Baneans,* and paid within the time. After a Months ſtay at *Matzua,* they were all embarked for *Suaqhem,* where when they arrived, the *ſtately Baſhaw* would not ſo much as ſee them; but having ordered their *Perſons* and *Baggage* to be ſearched, he ſent them word, *That under Thirty thouſand Crowns they were not to think of having*

The Governor having ſqueezed all that he could out of them, ſends them to *Suaqhem.*

having leave from him to go to the Indies. Nevertheleſs, after much *Bartering*, the *Baneans* having brought him down to *Four thouſand*, paid the Money; and having provided a Ship to carry them all to *Dio*, as they were upon the ſhoar ready to have *Imbarked*, word came from the Baſhaw, *That he had given leave only to Seven to depart, of which number, the Patriarch was not to be one*; pretending to detain him till he had advice from *Dio* how matters ſtood there as to their Commerce.

Seven of the Fathers, Two remaining behind with the Patriarch, embarked on the 6th. of *Auguſt* 1634. and after a Voyage of Eight days, during which time they ſuffered a thouſand affronts from their fellow-Paſſengers, who were going Pilgrims to *Mecha*, and who reckoned it to be meritorious to abuſe Chriſtian Prieſts, they were put aſhoar at *Dio*; where two of the Fathers, who were ſent by the Patriarch from *Fremona* to ſolicit for Troops, were arrived but a few days before, the other two having died in the Voyage, which had been extreamly tedious. By the firſt opportunity that offered, Father *Manuel*, and Father *Jerom*, embarked for *Goa*; where being arrived, they were at the Vice-roy *Don Michael de Noronha*, day and night, for to ſend a Fleet with ſome *Troops* to *Ethiopia*; repreſenting the taking of the Ports of *Suaqhem* and *Matzua*, as a thing that Five hundred Soldiers, with Two Men of War, would do with eaſe; and magnifying the advantages the Crown, as well as the Church,

Seven of the Fathers purchaſe leave to go to *Dio*, but the Patriarch is detained.

The Fathers being got to *Goa*, do ſolicit the the Vice-roy hard to take *Matzua* and *Arkico*.

would reap from the *Portugueſes* being Maſters thereof. But though there was never any thing preſſed with greater heat and zeal than this Expedition was by the whole Clergy of *Goa*, Secular and Regular, who were all poſſeſſed by the Two Fathers, That the *Reduction of another* Europe *to the Obedience of the Church of* Rome, *would infallibly be the conſequence of it*; Yet all they could obtain of the Viceroy, was only *Commendations of their Zeal*, with a general promiſe of *undertaking that work ſo ſoon as the poſture of his Affairs would allow him to do it*. But the Fathers knowing where their buſineſs ſtuck, endeavoured to obviate all the *Political Arguments* that could be brought againſt it, affirming with the greateſt confidence, *That the conqueſt of thoſe two Ports would open another* Indies *to the* Portugueſes; *and that the Cuſtoms of them alone would do much more than defray the Charges of Conquering and Keeping them*; *and that there was no reaſon to think that the* Turks *would not ſit down quietly with the loſs of two ſuch important places, ſince they had lately loſt the whole Kingdom of* Gemen, *and the Ports of* Moqha, Odieda, *and* Cameran, *which were all places of greater moment to them than* Suaqhem *or* Matzua, *without ever ſo much as attempting to recover them again.*

But can obtain nothing but fair promiſes.

* The Viceroy, who had no Ships nor Troops to ſpare for *Ethiopia*, finds both for *Momboca* upon its having revolted.

But tho the Viceroy had neither Ships nor Troops to ſpare at this time for an *Habaſſin* Expedition, he no ſooner heard of the loſs of *Momboca*, a Port belonging to the *Portugueſes* upon the ſame Coaſt with *Suaqhem*, but which is much nigher to *Goa*, and more in the way of Trade, than he found * Both to ſend

ſend thither; the Hiſtory of which loſs was, in ſhort, as followeth.

The Governor of the Citadel of *Momboca*, a place, ſaith our Hiſtorian, *that ſeemed to have Tyrannical Governors entailed upon it*, having upon ſome pretence or other, in the year 1614. put the King of that Countrey, who was a *Mahometan*, to death, he ſent the *Prince, his eldeſt Son*, who was but a Boy, with his *Father's Head to Goa*, where being put into the hands of the *Auſtin* Friars, he was *Converted* by them, and *Chriſtened* by the Name of *Hierom*, and after Thirteen years reſidence among them, was *Married* to a *Portugueſe* Lady; and having ſolemnly *Submitted himſelf and his Kingdom to the Pope*, was ſent home with his *Queen*, with a promiſe of having his Crown reſtored to him again. But the Governor of *Momboca*, though he allowed *Don Hierom* the *Title of King*, treated him much more *like a Slave* than a *Prince*, not ſuffering him to *exerciſe* the leaſt *Authority*, nor to have a *hand* in any *publick buſineſs*. The *Royal Title*, without any thing of *Power*, making *Don Hierom* uneaſie; and having nothing elſe to do, he *ſtole* frequently by night to the place where his *Father's Corps lay buried*; where, after having *bitterly bewailed his unfortunate end*, he ſtill performed ſome *Mahometan Ceremonies to his Ghoſt*; which having been obſerved one night by a *Portugueſe*, he went preſently, and acquainted the Governor therewith; who concluding from thence, as well he might, that *Don Hierom*, though he profeſſed himſelf a

Christian, was a *Mahometan* in his heart, intended to have him apprehended in order to send him to the Inquisition of *Goa*, as an Apostate: But the King, having by some way or other had advice of what the Governor intended, resolved to be beforehand with him, and either to send him *to the Inquisition of Heaven next morning to answer for his Tyranny, or to lose his Life in the Attempt*; which, knowing what the Inquisition of *Goa* was, he reckoned to be preferable to being lodged in it; and having, in pursuance of this resolution, by night with great secrecy got Three hundred of the stoutest and faithfullest of the *Caffrees* together in a Body, he *surprized the Citadel* betimes next Morning, where having *Killed* the Governor *Peter Leytam de Gambaa* with his own hand, he put the whole Garison, not sparing the Governor's Lady and Daughter, to the Sword; and having done his work in the Citadel, he Marched into the Town, and before night had not left one *Portugueſe*, Eccleſiaſtick or Laick, alive that he could lay his hands on. So soon as the Massacre was over, he went to the *Lady* Church, where having mounted the Pulpit, and commanded all the Natives who had turned *Christians*, to be brought before him, he made the following Discourse to them.

The King of *Mombaca*'s Speech to his Subjects after he had Massacred all the *Portugueſe* that were in the City.

THE *High* Ala *hath for many years suffered the Insults of Men; but the time appointed for their period being come, he would endure them no longer; having now in one hour revenged the Crimes of several Ages. The* Portugueſes *came from*

from the dark ſhades of the day, into this Countrey, where the true light ſhines; who after having deſtroyed great numbers of African *and* Aſiatick *Kingdoms, and having been Pyrates in both Seas, had the impudence to pretend that they had no other buſineſs with us, but to teach us Policy for the Earth, and to inſtruct us in the way to Heaven.* As if either Divine or Human Laws did direct the deſtroying and robbing of men on purpoſe to bring them to embrace true Doctrines; *is not this wonderful Doctrine,* to put a Croſs into our Hands, that they may take our Scepters out of them, and our Crowns from off our Heads, *and to rob us, as they have done all other Nations, of our Liberty?*

Their coming at firſt into theſe Parts, though drawn hither by nothing elſe but their unſatiable covetouſneſs, and deſiring to have a Trade with us, was well enough; but to force us to it, whether we would or not; and inſtead of helping us to Goods, and Honour, to encourage us to trade with them, to fleece us to our very Souls if we did it, or refuſed it, is ſuch an Heavenly or earthly Law, as I muſt own I do not underſtand. Let us for once grant them, That we are, as they ſay, without the Knowledge of the True God; What then? Can there be any ſuch God as ſhall command us to be Robbed of our Lands, Crowns, Lives, and Liberties, and of our Wives, Children, Brethren, and Kinsfolk, that ſo we may be brought to the Knowledge of him? No, moſt certain it is, that there can be no ſuch God; ſince to be God, is to be Juſt: So that the Robberies which we of Africk *and* Aſia *do daily ſuffer at the hands of theſe enor-*

mous Strangers, are Injuſtices which will infallibly be puniſhed at his Divine Tribunal; for the very Men that do plunder us, do at the ſame time teach us, That when the Son of God ſent his Miniſters to Preach his new Law over the World, that one of his Inſtructions to them was, that they ſhould propoſe it to the Gentiles, *and if ſome refuſed to hear them, that they ſhould go then and tender it to others: For had this work been to have been done by Violence, their Maſter was ſufficiently able to have done one of theſe two things for his Miniſters, either to* have endued them with ſuch a Divine Power as could not be reſiſted, but muſt have obliged all People to have ſurrendred themſelves to them; or have given them Armies to have forced the World to a ſubmiſſion. *Whereas it is moſt certain, that thoſe Miniſters had no order* to take any thing from any body, or to compel any to receive their Doctrines: *Which makes me wonder how the* Portugueſes, *who pretend to be ſuch* Singular Miniſters of thoſe Doctrines, *ſhould firſt force us by War to embrace them, and after we have embraced them, ſhould Rob us: What ſhall I call ſuch People as theſe? The* Preachers of the Divine Law, or the Doctors of Human Covetouſneſs? *Who call us* Barbarians before we hear them, and after we have heard them, make us their Slaves? *With what plauſible pretenees did they firſt come aſhoar here? And how did they afterwards make themſelves ſo far Maſters of this City, as to oblige my Anceſtors to accept of their own Crown from their hands; and who, after they had ſerved them faithfully, were rewarded by them with* Reproaches, Treachery, Violence, and

and Death. *But to pass over what is ancient, and to go no higher than my Father; Who among you, though your Bowels were nests of Scorpions, or of worse creatures, if there be any, do not lament the Memory of what he suffered at their hands, even to the taking away of his life by barbarous and tyrannical Methods? I have a thousand times, and a thousand to that, visited the Tomb of my good, but unhappy Father; and I never did it once, but I heard his blood crying to God for Justice, as also for vengeance upon my Soul; which made me consider, how he had provoked the* Portugueses *to Murther him as they did, or what I had done to deserve the same treatment. As to my Father, he was easily justified; and as to my self, I am not sensible that I ever did any thing to offend them, unless it were by turning Christian; which, though it may seem strange, yet lively Experience assures us, that it is their common practice to Respect and Reverence us so long as we continue to profess our own Religion, and to persecute and abominate us so soon as we are persuaded by them to profess theirs. I need not tell you, that I was bred up among them at* Goa, *where I saw so much of their Insolence, that I do much more wonder at their not having committed greater here, than at their having committed those they have at* Goa. *I saw the* King of *Ormus* thrown into Jayl, and his Crown taken from him and given to another, only upon a pretence that he was Mad; *though* all his Madness was, his having refused to give them as much to let him keep his Crown, as he to whom they gave it had offered for it; *for with them* we are Catholicks, or in our Wits, according as we give; If we give them much, *though we*

are Infidels, they reckon us Christians; and *though we are* Fools, *they reckon* us Wise; *on the contrary, if we give* them but little, *then let us be never* so Wise, *we are reckoned* Mad; *and* though Christians, *are reckoned* Infidels; *so that it must be* our Purses, *and not our* Minds, *that must justify us with* this Nation, *which boasts so much of Politeness and Justice. If their Religion teacheth them these things, it cannot be a good Religion; but if it does not, they then must be very Wicked to dishonour it as they do by their innumerable Insolencies; but however that is, I am certain, we have reason to seek to secure our necks, and either to forsake their Religion as bad, or to abominate them as the worst of men, which I will always be sure to do, but will at the same time acknowledge, that were their Actions conformable to their Preaching, that they would not be ill men. Nevertheless we have the Law of our own great Prophet to save us, and which of all other Laws will do it the most effectually: Neither shall I fail to take severe Vengeance on my self for having forsaken it for their Law, and that without seeking to excuse my self, by my having been converted by them at an age when I was not capable of understanding their Cheat, or of foreseeing my own ruin thereby. But this I must say in my own justification, That I discovered the error I had committed at the same time I came to the use of my reason; and retracted it in my heart, though till this day it was not possible for me to do it publickly; but though I have been slow in doing it, I do hope the glorious atchievements of this day will abundantly compensate for that my slowness, being confident that our most just Prophet will obtain a pardon for me from the sublime* Ala

for

for my having delivered this his people from that shameful slavery they have been so long held in by vile Portuguese *Tyranny, called by its professors the* Catholick Church, *whose mischiefs are now legible in their sufferings; it being God's property to chastise horrible Insolencies, and to favour regular proceedings; so we see they are all fallen by the edge of our Swords, and the flight of our Arrows; and being tied hand and foot by the enormity of their Crimes, none of them have offered to make the least resistance, neither have any of them escaped. Where was that Courage they so much boast of, and that Justice which they pretend favours them? By this you may all see plainly, that we are Superior to them, both as to a righteous Law, and in true Courage; as also that you were cheated by their cunning persuasions, to leave the breasts of our true Religion, wherein you had been Educated, in returning to which you shall have me for an example. As to those who have never Apostatized, I have nothing to say to them upon this point; but what I am now about to say, concerns you all equally; which is, That you join together to recover your ancient Liberty, and to defend your Ancient Kingdom, reviving the glory of your forgotten Cavalry, which in former ages was famous all over the world. You now know by Experience what the* Portugueses *are, who when they first Conquered this City, took advantage of our unwarinesse; but whereever people are watchful, there they are either beat, or depend on their craft for that, which we expect only from our Arms. Let them come now when they will, and they shall find what their courage or craft will signify to them; for as I am resolved to believe nothing that they say, so having upon this happy day cleared this place of them, whenever they come,*

I will

I will defend it with more vigor than I attacked it; *and how should they be able to retake this City, who when they had it in their possession, were not able to keep it? Wherefore do but observe my Orders, and you shall live in honour and safety, and be freed from Tyranny in your Houses.*

The *Portuguese* Historian, who relates this Speech, makes the following reflections upon it; *Thus this blasphemous man harangued his infamous Sect*, in which he was *become learned, reviling our Religion, of which he was not ignorant, but was spitefully set against it*; but as to all other things mentioned by him relating to the temper and government of the *Portugueses*, they were, saith he, *spoke by him, and so much is the more pity, with more of truth than passion*: adding, *Neither could this Prince be said to be Disloyal in having made such an Insurrection*; *for wherever Tyranny becomes Exorbitant, and is not to be curbed by gentle Methods, it cancels all the Bonds of Allegiance*; *Self-Preservation, whether Natural or Politick, being a thing that is indispensably necessary*; *for would it not be a pleasant thing, that one should load another with insufferable Insolencies, trusting to this, That the injured person will not offer to defend himself, for fear, forsooth, of being thought disloyal, though at the same time he has no other way to remedy himself but by being so? For it is undoubtedly a much less fault to be unfaithful to a Tyrant, than to establish a Succession of Tyrants by a tame obedience.*

The King of *Momboca* justifi'd in part by a *Portugueſe* Hiſtorian.

But the Viceroy not having the same thoughts of the Revolution of *Momboca* as our Historian, so soon as he heard of it, dispatched

ed his Eldeſt Son with a Fleet of Sixteen Ships and Five Hundred Soldiers, to recover it, and to chaſtiſe the *Renegado* King and his *Caffrees*; but they defended themſelves ſo bravely, that after a cloſe Siege both by Sea and Land for ſome Weeks, they obliged the *Portugueſes*, after having loſt moſt of their Soldiers, to return to *Goa* with diſgrace.

The *Portugueſes* are baffled before *Momboca*.

The *Habaſſin* Solicitors, who had deſired the ſame number of Ships and Men for *Matzua*, having put down this loſs in their Book of Judgments, and finding there was nothing to be done for them at *Goa*, reſolved to ſend Father *Hierom* to the Courts of *Lisbon*, *Madrid*, and *Rome*, to ſee what could be done there; as alſo to give ſuch a *Narrative* of the *Change in Ethiopia*, as would vindicate the *Jeſuits Conduct* in that Empire, which they had reaſon to fear would be blamed for it in *Europe*.

Father *Hierom* is ſent into *Europe* to ſolicite for Troops, and to juſtify the Jeſuits Conduct in *Ethiopia*.

Father *Hierom*, after a tedious Voyage from *Goa* to *Angola*, and from *Angola* to *Braſil*, and from *Braſil* to *Cartbagena* in the *Weſt-Indies*, and from *Carthagena* to *Cales*, arrived at laſt at *Lisbon* on the Eighteenth of *December*, 1636; where having given in a Memorial to the *Infanta Dona Margaret*, who was Governeſs of *Portugal* at that time, and finding there was nothing to be had at that Court, on the Twentieth of *January* he begun his Journey to *Madrid*, where the King and the *Conde Duke* having given his long ſtory the hearing, ſent him back to *Lisbon* with ſome, though ſmall hopes of doing ſomething for *Ethiopia*; but being returned to *Lisbon*, he found a Letter from

from the *Portugueſe* Aſſiſtant of the *Jeſuits* at *Rome*, commanding him to repair thither with all poſſible expedition; *a true narrative of the late Revolution in* Ethiopia *being a thing their Order ſtood in great need of at that Court.* The Father being got to *Rome*, gave his General *Mutio Vitelleſchi* a full account of that whole affair; and after that, was admitted to kiſs the Pope's foot, to whom he delivered a long Memorial of all that had paſſed in *Ethiopia*, and of all that was to be done for the recovery of it; and the Pope having laid that whole buſineſs before a *Junto* of Cardinals, the Father ſolicited them continually to come to ſome effectual reſolution about it, but to little purpoſe, he being able to obtain nothing of them but *good wiſhes and bleſſings*, of which the Pope himſelf too is ſaid to have been *very liberal.* But the Father, who was a great Traveller, knowing that *Matzua* and *Suaqhem*, as weak as he had repreſented them to be, were not to be taken by ſuch Ordinance; and finding that there was no other to be expected from that ſpiritual Court, trudged back again to *Madrid*, where by his Inceſſant Sollicitations he obtained a Letter to the Viceroy, recommending the buſineſs of *Ethiopia* to him, ſo ſoon as the affairs of the Government would permit; with which Letter, which ſignify'd juſt nothing, the Father returned to *Goa*; upon whoſe ill ſucceſs, Father *Tellez* makes the following Exclamation; *This was an occaſion wherein all the precious Jewels of* Spain *ought to have been ſold, and all the ſacred Treaſures of* Rome *to have been opened; but for our Sins, thoſe fervors of Chriſtianity which diſcovered themſelves in the* Croiſado's

He obtains nothing at *Rome* but Bleſſings, and at *Madrid* aud *Lisbon* but fair promiſes.

ſado's *which were undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land, and the Zeal of Converting the world, and of reducing* Ethiopia, *are now in a manner extinguiſhed.*

The Patriarch gets to *Goa.*

But what reflected the moſt on the Devotion of the State of the *Indies*, was their taking no care to Ranſom the *poor Patriarch* and *Fathers*, who remained *Slaves* ſtill at *Suaqhem*; and who finding they were forgot at home, were forced at laſt to give Commiſſion to the *Baneans* to treat with the Baſhaw about their Ranſom; who having brought him down to Four thouſand pieces of Eight, they advanced the Money, and embark'd the Patriarch and his two Companions on a Ship that was bound for *Dio*; where being arrived after a months Voyage, and finding a Ship ready to Sail for *Goa*, they went on Board, and being got thither, revived the buſineſs of *Ethiopia* again, but with no better ſucceſs than its former Solicitors.

O *Kay* finding no *Portugueſe* Succours come, delivers the Biſhop of *Nice*, and three Fathers, who by his connivence remained behind in his Country, to the Emperor.

But to caſt our Eye back upon *Ethiopia*, O *Kay*, in whoſe Lands the Biſhops of *Nice* and the three Fathers had abſconded for near five Years, finding the Promiſes of a *Portugueſe* Army he had been ſo long fed withal, came to nothing, he treacherouſly deliver'd them all into the hands of the Emperor, who having ordered them to be brought in Chains to the Camp, they were all four try'd and condemn'd to Death as Traytors. But it not being the Cuſtom of *Ethiopia*, ſay the Jeſuits, to put People to Death, though condemned to it, for Treaſon, (they ſhould have excepted the time when they govern'd the Court, for then no Body was ſpared that was convicted of it); that Sentence

was

They are all four condemned as Traytors, and executed by the Mob.

was changed into Baniſhment, a Favour that was but of little uſe to them; for being ſent into the Country of the *Agau*'s, the Mob ris upon them, and hanged them all four upon one Tree, pelting them furiouſly with Stones as they hung.

The Congregation *De propaganda fide*, being diſſatisfied with the Conduct of the *Portugueſe* Jeſuits in *Ethiopia*, takes the Miſſion thereof from them, and gives it to the Capuchins.

But notwithſtanding Father *Hierom*'s *Narrative* of this Revolution, which was undoubtedly favourable enough to his Order; there did not want thoſe at *Rome*, who imputed it chiefly to the raſh and furious Conduct of the *Portugueſe* Jeſuits, who they ſay by not following Father *Peter*'s Example of introducing Popery by degrees, but having got the Emperor and his Brother on their ſide, were for doing it in a day, had ruin'd that whole Deſign by their Precipitation. Neither was it only the Enemies of that Order, of which it never yet wanted good ſtore among the Clergy that talked thus; the Cardinals *De propaganda fide*, having themſelves declared, That they had the ſame thoughts of it, by taking that Miſſion out of the hands of the *Portugueſe* Jeſuits, and committing it to *French* and *Italian* Capuchins. Neither were the Cardinals much miſtaken in this matter; for in truth, the thing that ruined the Intereſt of Popery in *Ethiopia*, was the *Portugueſe* Fathers, even when they were moſt in favour with the Emperor, caballing ſtill with Princes and Governors, who were their Converts, to Canton *Ethiopia* into ſeveral Independent Kingdoms; together with their preſuming, that with four or five Hundred *Portugueſe* Soldiers, they ſhould be able at any time to reduce *Ethiopia* to the *Roman* Church, which conceit

conceit made them the leſs fearful of committing Errors, or of precipitating things. This deſign of breaking the *Habaſſin* Empire into ſeveral Independent Principalities, however they might condemn it at *Rome* for not having ſucceeded, they could not in general condemn it either as impolitick or ſinful; it being viſible to all the World, that the great Fabrick of the Papacy was erected and eſtabliſhed by the ſame courſe; that is, by its having broke the *Roman* Empire into a great many Independent Kingdoms; for which reaſon, the keeping of thoſe Kingdoms from ever conſolidating again into one great Monarchy, is viſibly the chief care of the Court of *Rome*; which, let the *moſt Catholick*, or the *moſt Chriſtian*, expreſs never ſo much Zeal for their Religion, immediately turns their Enemy, whenever they begin to think of being Univerſal Monarch.

Now, though I cannot ſay, That the great *Palafox*, Archbiſhop of *La Pueba de los Angeles* had the miſcarriage of this Miſſion in his eye, when he called upon *Innocent* the 10th in his ſecond Letter to him, bearing date the 8th of *January*, 1649. to *weigh the Services and Diſſervices* the Jeſuit Order had done the Church in an equal Ballance; nevertheleſs, conſidering how the Fathers by caballing with Princes, and plunging themſelves over head and ears into Politicks in *Ethiopia*, did, as it were, in one day deſtroy all the Effects of their long and great Labours in that Empire, what that Learned and Pious Prelate has ſaid, is ſo very pat on this occaſion, that I ſhall lay it before the *Reader*. I do

As I do voluntary confeſs, *ſaith* Palafox, *about the middle of the Letter*, That the Jeſuits have by their Virtues, no leſs than their Writings, and both by their Words and Examples, done great Service and Honour to the Church of God; ſo I do aſſure your Holineſs, that by ſome troubleſome Qualities, not to ſpeak of Defects which belong to them, they have done the Church more harm than good; it is therefore your Holineſs's buſineſs to weigh the one againſt the other in your Apoſtolical Balance, to ſee which does preponderate. For, as a Prebend or Benefice is unprofitable to him that injoys it, when its Charges exceed its Revenue; ſo a Religious Order may be ſaid to be prejudicial to the Church, when it brings more damage than profit to it; and eſpecially, when there are other Orders and Eccleſiaſticks, who may be as ſerviceable to the Church, without being prejudicial to her.

Suppoſe all the Jeſuits to labour hard in the Service of the Church, yet what do all their labours ſignify, if they themſelves deſtroy all the effects of them, or make them groan under the feet of the Grandure and Authority they have uſurped to themſelves? What advantage can a Biſhop derive from their Aſſiſtance, if they diſhonour and perſecute him, whenever he does any thing that they do not like? What fruit can the People reap by their Inſtructions, if they raiſe Troubles and Commotions among them? Of what advantage is it to Parents to have their Children taught by them, if they rob them of their ſweet Company,

pany by taking their Children from them, and afterwards throwing them many times off ſhamefully for trivial reaſons? Furthermore, What advantage have Miniſters of State, Grandees and Princes, by being ſometimes well-ſerved by them in their Courts, if the greater part of them are ſo far from being ingaged by neceſſity, in ſuch Affairs, that they intrude themſelves into them of their own accord with a Preſumption, which is prejudicial to the State, and does very much diminiſh that eſteem Spiritual Miniſters ought to be had in, rendering themſelves thereby odious to the Laity, by entering into all the Intrigues and Secrets of Families, which they pretend to govern no leſs than the Maſters thereof; and all this under the colour of the Spiritual Government of their Conſciences, tumbling no leſs ſcandalouſly than perniciouſly from Spiritual to Politick Matters, from Politick to Prophane, and from Prophane to Criminal.

What does it ſignify, that the Jeſuit is more flouriſhing than any of the other Orders, if out of a ſecret jealouſy, it darkens and oppreſſes all its Credit, and all its Power, Riches, Learning, and Pens, by publiſhing Books that do it? And what is the Church profited by its Books, if at the ſame time ſhe is diſturbed by the many dangerous Opinions introduced by its Fryars, who have transformed, if not deſtroy'd the Wiſdom which is truly Chriſtian, and have rendred the truth of Chriſtianity it ſelf doubtful. What the Apoſtle teacheth being certainly true, which is, That the Knowledge of thoſe who will learn things

which do not belong to them, is destructive. Which lesson ought to teach both them and us, not to seek after a Knowledge that will not be governed by Charity. *In a word*, If it please your Holiness, what other Religious Order has ever been so prejudicial as this to the Catholick Church, or has filled all Christian Countrys with so great Commotions?

Six *French* Capuchins are sent by several ways into *Ethiopia.*

The Cardinals *De propaganda fide*, being resolved, it seems, That neither the *Portuguse* Jesuits nor Government should have any thing more to do with the Conversion of *Ethiopia*, named six *French* Capuchins to go thither; who having by their King's Interest at the *Port*, obtained Letters of *Safe Conduct* from the *Grand Signior* to pass through *Egypt*; four of them repairied thither, the other two being ordered to try if they could find a passage into *Ethiopia* by the way of *Magadaxo* and *Pale*; but those two having, as the Jesuits tell us, more Fervour than Experience, came short home, and were murthered by the *Caffrees* so soon as they came among them; two of the four that went to *Egypt*, having got into the Kingdom of *Tigre*, by the way of *Matzua*, in the Habit of Merchants, upon their being discovered to be Popish Priests, were presently put to Death; the Emperor having made a Law, requiring those that discovered *any to be Popish Priests or Fryars, immediately to kill them, without troubling his Court with them.* The other two who had landed at *Suaqhem*, finding there was no getting into *Ethiopia*, from thence returned to *Matzua*, where hearing

Four of them are murthered, and the other two continue at *Matzua.*

ing of the Death of their two Companions, they thought it was better to ſtay where they were, than to go any further; ſo that the *French* Capuchins, as the Jeſuits, who I doubt were not over-well-pleaſed with their being employ'd, tell their ſtory, made a very ſhort buſineſs of their *Habaſſin Miſſion.*

But though they would ſend no more Jeſuits from *Rome* to *Ethiopia*; there were two of the old Fathers remaining ſtill in the Country, and who had ever ſince the Patriarch's Departure abſconded in the Lands of *Za Mariam*, the Prince of *Dembea*, a Province in the Kingdom of *Tigre*; and who, now *John O Kay* had ſerved them ſuch a dirty Trick, was to be King of *Tigre*, when the *long-look'd for* Portugueſe *Fleet and Army came*; they were Father *Bruno* an *Italian*, and Father *Luis Cardegra* a *Portugueſe*; the Court having had intelligence that *Za Mariam* nothwithſtanding he was in Arms in Confederacy with the Peaſants of *Laſta* to defend the *Alexandrian* Faith, which they ſtill pretended was in danger, had two *Roman* Prieſts concealed in his Country; ſent to *Za Mariam*, either to deliver them up to the Emperor, or to put them to Death himſelf, hoping by this diſcovery to make the Peaſants of *Laſta* jealous of him, as a ſecret Friend to the *Roman* Church, notwithſtanding all his high Pretenſions to the contrary; and upon *Za Mariam* having denied that he had any ſuch Prieſts in his Country; the Viceroy of *Tigre* to ſpoil the *Double Game* he was playing, writes a Letter to the Monks, that were among the Peaſants, to let them know what

The two remaining Jeſuits in *Ethiopia*, are protected by the Peaſants of *Laſta.*

a *Champion* for the *Alexandrian* Faith they had in *Za Mariam*, who had for several years kept two *Roman* Priests concealed about him, in hopes that a *Portugueſe* Army would be ſent to conquer *Ethiopia*; to prove the truth of which, if they would not take his word for it, he offered to ſend them two unqueſtionable Witneſſes; the one an *Habaſſin*, who had been bred among the Jeſuits; and the other a *Portugueſe*, whom he had intercepted, coming with a Meſſage from the *Indies* to *Za Mariam:* But as *God would have it*, ſay the Jeſuits, *notwithſtanding it was all true, that the Viceroy had writ to the Monks*; yet *Za Mariam* having lodged the two Fathers privately in the Mountain of *Amba Salama*, did face it down ſo, as a Trick of the Viceroy's to break the Confederacy; that the Peaſants and Monks not believing a word of it, continued ſtill to look upon *Za Mariam* as a true *Alexandrian*, and on the Emperor and the Court as ſtill Popiſhly affected, for having attempted to create a miſunderſtanding betwixt him and them: Now, this was a *pleaſant turn* enough for to bring the Peaſants of *Laſta*, when they could get none elſe to do it, *to ſerve the ends of Popery, the thing in the World they hated the moſt, and which they thought they were then fighting againſt.*

The Emperor finding the Peaſants were not to be *undeceived*, ordered the Viceroy of *Tigre* to march againſt them with a numerous Army, who having brought them to a Battel, routed them totally; and their Head, *Za Mariam*, being taken the day after the Fight, was cut in pieces by the Soldiers, who were

ſo

so inraged by their General's being kill'd, that they gave no Quarters: In *Za Mariam*, say the Jesuits, *the last Pillar of the true Faith, and the Foundations of all our hopes in* Ethiopia *fell to the ground.*

The Peasant's General is kill'd, and the two Fathers taken, and hanged.

The two Fathers having lost their Protector, were quickly discovered, and being put into the hands of one *Lessano*, a violent *Alexandrian*, he carried them to a great *Fair* that was in the Neighbourhood, where he hanged them both in the Market-place, after whose Death there was not a Jesuit of any Nation left in *Ethiopia*.

Two *Italian* Capuchins come to *Suaqhem*.

In the Year 1646. the Congregation *De propaganda fide* sent two *Italian* Capuchins to *Ethiopia*, who having got to *Suaqhem* by the way of *Grand Cair*, they found one of the *French* Fryars of the former Mission there, and having consulted together, what course they were to take, the wise *Italians* were for writing to the Emperor for leave to come into his Country to preach the Gospel in it; which being agreed to, they writ a Letter to him, wherein, contrary to the course that had been taken by the *Portuguese*, who were still for making the difference betwixt the *Alexandrian* and *Roman* Faith as wide as they could possibly; they were for persuading the Emperor that he and they were of the same Faith, and that being so, they hoped his Highness would not be against their coming into *Ethiopia* to preach the same Faith that his Highness professed.

They write to the Emperor for leave to come into his Country.

But the Emperor was so far from being overcome by this Capuchin Complement,

which contradicted all the Jesuits had told him of their Heresies; that upon reading the Letter, he roared out as if he had been mad, saying, *What is it not enough, that I have been persecuted for so many years for my Religion by* Portuguese *from the* East, *but that I must have* Italians *come from the* West *to persecute me for it afresh.* And instead of returning any Answer to their Letter, he writ to the Bashaw of *Suaqhem*, who valued himself much upon his being a Renegado Christian, *To ease him of these, and all the Fryars that should come to his Port at any time*, complaining *that he could not have one days quiet for them in his Kingdom*; *and that having rooted out the* Portuguese, *a new set of People were come to disturb him with new pretences.*

The Emperor writes to the Bashaw of *Suaqhem*, to rid him of them.

The Bashaw being glad of the opportunity of at once gratifying the Emperor, and his own Renegado Zeal, commanded the two *Italians* to be murthered in his Presence, and the *French* Fryar who had a Passport from the *Grand Signior*, to be assassinated, sending their three Heads to the Emperor, who as a Reward, made him a Present of three Bags of Gold Dust; promising him as many Bags of Gold Dust, as he should at any time send him Heads of *Roman* Fryars. Upon which Correspondence betwixt the Emperor and the Governor of *Suaqhem*, a report was raised of *Basilides* having turned *Mahometan* not long after he had banished the Patriarch.

The Bashaw murthers them all three, and sendstheir Heads to the Emperor.

The

The Patriarch being extreamly desirous to revive, if it were possible, the Jesuits lost intereſt in the *Habaſſin* Miſſion, in the year 1646. ſends and Dedicates a Book he had writ on the *Six Firſt General Councils*, and *a Catechiſm* he had made in *Ethiopia* for the uſe of that Church, to the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*; from whom, the year following he received the following Anſwer.

Moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Reverend Lord:

THE *Books compoſed by your Grace, with great diligence and ſtudy, (as appears from the frequent teſtimonies of Scripture which are in them) together with your moſt* Elegant Epiſtle Dedicatory *to* this Holy Congregation *de Propaganda fide, have been received by the moſt* Eminent Fathers of the ſaid Congregation, *with a joyful mind; and who have ordered two things concerning them, the one is, That the ſaid Books be delivered to the* Portugueſe Aſſiſtant of the Jeſuits Order, *that ſo all that is in them relating to the* Habaſſin *Errors, and all that your Grace has writ in Confutation of them, may be noted, and being digeſted into a Book, may be Printed in the Preſs of the ſaid* Holy Congregation, *for the uſe of the Miſſionaries of* Ethiopia. *The other is, That ſome Perſons, Secular or Regular, of which there is great plenty in this City, be deputed to Examine them, and give in their Opinion of them.*

All which, with their Thanks for having Dedicated thoſe Books to them, the ſaid moſt Eminent Fathers have ordered to be imparted to your Grace: Which I here do in their Name, and in their Preſence, with great chearfulneſs; as I do alſo

offer you my own Service, beſeeching Chriſt to proſper you.

Your Grace's moſt Affectionate Brother,

Aloyſius, Cadinalis Caponius.

At Rome *the* 14*th. of* October, 1647.

This Letter, though very civil, did not anſwer the Patriarch's deſign in his Preſent; for notwithſtanding there is mention in it of an *Habaſſin* Miſſion, there is not one ſyllable of reſtoring it to the Jeſuits.

Father *Torquato* is ſent by the Patriarch to *Suaqhem* for to bring him Intelligence.

In the year 1648. the Patriarch, who continued ſtill at *Goa*, ſufficiently mortified by the Congregation *de Propaganda fide* reflecting ſo much upon his Conduct, as to take the buſineſs of his Church out of the hands both of his Order and Countrey, notwithſtanding he had complied ſo far with what was ordered at *Rome*, as not to ſend a *Portugueſe*; yet he ventured to ſend an *Italian* Jeſuit to *Suaqhem* to try if he could get into *Ethiopia* to ſend him intelligence how matters ſtood there.

Father *Torquato*, which was the Jeſuit's name that was ſent, having put himſelf into the habit of a Merchant, embarked upon an *Engliſh* Ship at *Surat* that was bound for *Suaqhem*, which having touched at *Moqha*; the Father, who was ſent to *Ethiopia* chiefly for Intelligence, pretended to meet with the News there, of *Baſilides* having declared himſelf a *Mahometan*, and of his having ſent into *Arabia* for Prieſts

Prieſts of that Sect to come and inſtruct his people therein.

This News put Father *Torquato* into ſuch a paſſion, that he reſolved without uſing any precautions, to run preſently into *Ethiopia* to confound thoſe *Infidel* Prieſts, before they had time to ſpread their contagion there. But being on the wrong ſide of the Sea, and fearing that he had not Faith enough to croſs *it upon his Coat, as many a Friar had done a greater Sea, and when they had not half ſo much buſineſs*; he reſolved when he came to *Matzua*, to be governed by Father *Anthony*, the *French* Capuchin, whom he expected to have found there, as to his going on that Errand. But whether there were any colour at that time for this ſtory of *Baſilides* being about to turn *Mahometan*, if he was not turned already; it is no news for Monks and Friars to throw ſuch ſcandals on Princes that have any ways vexed them; witneſs their ſtories of the *Iconaclaſts* Emperors being ſometime turned *Jews*, and ſometimes *Mahometans*; and of our King *John* having offered the Emperor of *Morocco*, if he would aſſiſt him, to be of his Religion; and of *Charles Martel*'s Soul being ſome years after his Death ſeen in Hell for his Sacrilege.

Father *Torquato* meets with the News at *Moqua*, of *Baſilides* being turned *Mahometan*.

On the 6th. of *May*, the *Engliſh* Ship the Father was on Board, ſailed from *Moqua*, and on the 12th. touched at *Dela*, the biggeſt Iſland in the *Red-Sea*, it being Twelve Leagues in Length, from whence they ſailed directly to *Suaqhem*; where being come to an Anchor, the Maſter ſent aſhoar *for pratick*, which

which he had ſent to him at firſt word, with a Preſent of freſh Proviſions from the Governor. The Father, who walked upon the Deck as if he had been the *Supercargo*, having enquired of the Watermen that came aboard, *How the Chriſtians that were in* Suaqhem *did?* They made Anſwer, *That they knew of none that were there; ſome that were there formerly being gone into* Ethiopia. Next day the Father went aſhoar with the Maſter to enquire farther about the Friars, but was not able to learn any thing concerning them, only he was told by ſome of the *Baneans*, *That the Fathers that were there had been for ſome time dead:* But the Maſter of the Ship having obſerved that the Father was much troubled that he could learn nothing of his Brethren, told him, *He needed not enquire any farther after them, for he could aſſure him they had been all Three Murthered by the Order of the Baſhaw*; which was afterwards confirmed to him by a *Banean*, who told him farther, *That the Baſhaw had ſtrictly forbid all People to ſpeak of it.*

At *Suaqhem* he hears of the three Capuchins having been Murthered.

The Father being now ſatisfied that the Friars were all Murthered, his next buſineſs was to get their Bodies, or ſome part of them at leaſt, to carry with him to *Goa*; which, with the *ſtory* of *Baſilides being turned* Mahometan, he reckoned would make him welcome there; but here he was at a greater loſs than he was before, conſidering the *hatred*, ſay the Jeſuits, *that the* Engliſh *Hereticks have for all Sacred Relicks*; nevertheleſs, being reſolved to carry ſomething home beſides his *Moqha News*, for I do not find that it was confirmed

at

at *Suaqhem*, he ventured to ſpeak to an *Engliſh Sailer*, the Maſter having forbid him to go any more aſhoar, for fear of bringing the Ship into trouble, to go to a certain Iſland, that lay but a little way off, and if he found any dead bodies there, to bring them to him, promiſing to pay him well for his pains; the honeſt Sailer told him *he would do his beſt*, and going aſhoar *he picked up Two Skulls and a Bone*, and having brought them privately aboard, delivered them to the Father; who, though he had never ſeen any of the Friars, *knew the Skulls at firſt ſight to be the Heads of the Two* Italians *that came laſt*; and which was altogether as difficult, he knew the Bone to be the Bone of Father *Antony's right Arm*; which was as lucky as could be, for had it happened to have belonged to either of the Skulls, which were both viſibly *Italian*, he muſt then have either ſent his Sailer aſhoar again to have busked for more Bones, which was not to be done without danger, or which would have been a ſad thing, he muſt have gone home without a Relick of the *French* Friar.

He is fortunate in finding the Skulls of the two *Italian* Friars, and a Bone of the *French*.

With this rich Treaſure, and his *Moqha* News, Father *Torquato* returned well ſatisfied to *Goa*, where he was made welcome by the Patriarch, and was reckoned by all, but eſpecially the Capuchins of that City, to have made a good coaſting Voyage. The Patriarch having paid his devotion to the Relicks, did, contrary to the cuſtom of his Order, to encourage the Capuchins in their New Miſſion, part with this noble Treaſure to them, but upon condition, that if the Congregation *de Pro-*

The Patriarch is so kind as to give these Sacred Reliques to the Capuchins of *Goa*.

Propaganda fide should at any time demand what Evidences they had of their being true, that they should remit an exact information thereof to it. The Patriarch hoping, it is like, by this means to satisfie the Congregation, that the Jesuits, for all their having represented the Capuchin Conduct in the *Habassin* Mission to have been one continued blunder, were so far from their being displeased with their being solely employed therein, that they hazarded their lives to help them to the Relicks of their Martyr'd Brethren.

I have not been able to learn, whether the abovenamed Congregation did ever give it self the trouble of enquiring into the truth of these reliques; but most certain it is, that if it did, that their want of natural Evidences was abundantly supply'd by such as were Miraculous; for they having been, as all new-found reliques are, undoubtedly much prayed to, if Ten out of a Thousand that pray'd to them when they were sick did but happen to recover, there were just so many substantial Witnesses of their having a Miraculous Virtue in them to demonstrate them to be true; and for the faithless Nine hundred and ninety that died, their unsuccessful Prayers were never heard of to confront the Testimony of Ten living Witnesses; and being thus attested, the Congregation could not have deni'd them its Approbation, such Testimonies as these being all the Evidence the Church of *Rome* has for the greatest part of her Sacred Reliques: Neither would its having been afterwards discovered, as it was, that the Heads of those Three Friars were

were ſent by the *Baſhaw* who cut them off, as a Preſent to the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, have been any argument at all againſt the truth of thoſe which were lodged at *Goa*, there being nothing more common in the Church of *Rome*, than to have the ſame individual Reliques, and eſpecially Heads, at the ſame time in ſeveral Countries, and all of them working Miracles in Confirmation of their being genuin.

The Patriarch that he might not lie at *Goa*, doing nothing for his Title of *Illuſtriſſimo*, in the Year 1650, ſent a *Banean* and an *Habaſſin*, who were both Romaniſts, with a Commiſſion to one *Bernard Nogueiro* an *Habaſſin* Prieſt, but of *Portugueſe* Extraction, to be his Vicar-General in *Ethiopia*, during the time of his abſence from it.

The Patriarch ſends an *Habaſſin* and a *Banean* into *Ethiopia* with a Commiſſion to a Prieſt to be his Vicar-General.

The *Banean* and *Habaſſin* having got to *Moqha*, were detained there a whole Year by the War that was broke out betwixt a King in *Arabia*, and the *Baſhaw* of *Suaqhem*; but the Envoys that they might do ſomething for their Money, ſent the Patriarch ſome News, which notwithſtanding it did not agree very well with that Father *Torquato*, had picked up at the ſame place not long before, they knew would be pleaſing to him. The News was, *That his Succeſſor* Mark *had been Depoſed, for having been guilty of all the Crimes that they could think of*; namely, *for having Danced frequently with his Gatar in his hand, thorough the Streets with publick Strumpets*; *and that a Monk, whoſe name was* Michael, *was made* Abuna *in his place.* In *October* 1651, the two Envoys having got to *Matzua*

The Priest accepts of it, and writes for *Portuguese* Troops.

Matzua, stole by night from thence to a place in *Ethiopia* called *Engana*, from whence having sent an Express to Father *Bernard*, he was with them in a few days; and having gladly accepted of the Commission they brought to him, he wrote by them to the Patriarch, complaining that the *Portugueses* seemed to have forgot that there was any such Countrey as *Ethiopia*; where they had been expecting succors from them till they were weary, telling a lamentable Story of what *Raz Cella Christos* had suffered because he would not turn *Alexandrian*, and how his Gout, though extreamly violent, did not torment him half so much, as the disappointment of the *Portuguese* Troops he had been so long promised. But we have that Prince telling his own Story in the following Letter, which came to *Goa* about this time.

Most Illustrious Bishops and Governors of the Indies.

The Letter of Raz Cella Christos *cometh with Peace and Health in our Lord Jesus Christ, To all most Christian Catholicks, and to all the faithful of the true Church of our Lord.*

Raz Cella writes passionately for Troops.

TO tell you the Truth, I do not know with what Tongue or Words to begin to relate to you, the Persecutions of our Mother which I am at this time lamenting. O Holy and most Merciful Christ Jesus, nailed to the Cross, do Thou reckon them up, and make them to be known

known to all the Friars, Rectors, Prelates, Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Viceroys, Kings, Princes and Governors, that Rule on the other ſide of the Sea; I never in the leaſt doubted, but that you would ſo far have concerned your ſelf for the Catholicks that are here, as to have delivered them from the Tyranny of this Perverſe and Barbarous Nation, and that the doing thereof would not have been ſo long delayed but for my Sins which are Infinite: You ſeem to have been all diſſemblers; formerly when there was not ſo much as the name of a Church, or of a Catholick in Ethiopia, *the* Portugueſe *came to our Aſſiſtance, and delivered us out of the hands of the* Mahometans; *but now notwithſtanding there is an Infinite number of faithful people in it, there is no body ſeems to remember us, all our Brethren, and all thoſe whom the Zeal of the Houſe of the Lord did eat up, ſeeming to be dead.*

What, is the Pope, our true Paſtor and moſt beloved Father, removed from the immoveable Foundation of the Roman *Church? if he is not, Why does he not ſtretch forth his Rod and Staff of Conſolation to theſe his Sheep, before we depart this Miſerable Life, or before we are eat up by the* Alexandrian *Hereticks. Is it poſſible that there is not one Prince left in* Portugal, *that has the Zeal of* Don Chriſtopher Da Gama *for Chriſtianity, no nor ſo much as one Prelate left to procure ſome remedy for us either from Heaven or Earth; I can ſay no more, but though my Mouth is ſtopt, my Tears are not; but being covered with Sackcloth and Aſhes, I do moſt humbly beg ſuccor from all the Faithful, and that with all Expedition, before all be loſt. I am at this time in Chains in a Priſon, and am daily tempted with promiſes of liberty, if I will but return to the* Alexandrian

drian *Faith* ; *the Hereticks seeking in me to deſtroy all the Catholicks in* Ethiopia, *and to Extirpate the* Roman *Faith out of it.*

Wherefore if there be any Chriſtians left beyond Sea, or any that have a Zeal for God, let them know and underſtand that we are their Brethren in Chriſt Jeſus ; and that we ſhall then, and not before, believe that they have us in their hearts, when they ſhall deliver us out of the hands of Hereticks, and out of this our Egyptian *Bondage.*

Raz Cella is put to death.

This Unfortunate Prince is ſaid to have ſuffered Death not long after this, for his Religion, or rather for holding a Correſpondence with the *Portugueſes*, for whom the Emperor was poſſeſſed with ſo ſtrong an Averſion, that he made it Death for any of that Nation, or for any of the *Roman* Faith to come into *Ethiopia.*

The Patriarch is named to the Archbiſhoprick of *Goa*, but was dead before his nomination arrived.

In the Year 1656, the Patriarch was nominated by the King of *Portugal*, to the Archbiſhoprick of *Goa* ; which Dignity he did not live to take poſſeſſion of, having departed this life on the Twenty ninth of *June* before the arrival of the Fleet, by which the nomination was ſent. He died in the Seventy Seventh Year of his Age, having been Sixty Three Years a Friar of the Society ; of whom though his Brethren the *Jeſuits* have wrote great things, the *poor Ethiopick Church* might juſtly apply to him what *Moſes*'s *Ethiopick Wife* ſaid to him in *a paſſion*, *Thou haſt been an Husband of blood to me.*

Baſilides

Basilides having by a total extirpation of Popery out of his Empire, quieted the minds of his Subjects, set about recovering the Provinces his Infidel Neighbours had during the *Habassin* broils about Religion, tore from his Predecessors; and was so prosperous in his Wars as to regain most of them, having, if *Morad* the *Habassin* Ambassador at *Batavia*, did not stretch, extended his Empire Northward to the confines of *Nubia*, and Southward to *Hadea*, the people of which Kingdom were converted by him to the Christian Faith.

Basilides having extirpated Popery, recovers most of his lost Provinces.

Basilides having Reign'd Two and Thirty Years, was after his Death succeeded by his Son *Aelaf Saged*, in the Year 1665. *Aelaf* swayed the *Ethiopick* Scepter Fifteen Years, without doing any thing that was Memorable, only having heard of the greatness of the *Dutch* power in the *Indies*, he sent one *Morad*, an *Armenian*, his Ambassador, in the Year 1672, to the Governor of *Batavia*.

After a happy Reign of Thirty Two years is succeeded by his Son *Aelaf Saged*.

Aelaf dying in the Year 1681, was succeeded by his Son *Jasu Adian Saged*, who sent *Morad* a Second time to the Governor of *Batavia* in the Year 1689. The account *Morad* gave of his Master, was, That he was exceeding tall of Stature, had a fierce Countenance, and was very brave and wise, and of indefatigable application to business; and as to his affairs both at home and abroad, he affirmed them to be in a most flourishing condition. The Letters of those Embassies, together with the *Dutch* Governors answers to them, are published by the great Mr. *Ludolphus* at the end of

Aelaf is succeeded by his Son *Adjam Saged*, the present Emperor of *Ethiopia*.

his Commentaries, as are alſo the Anſwers which were given by the ſaid Ambaſſador, to the Queſtions which that Learned Perſon had ſent ſome Years before to the *Indies*, for which I refer the curious Reader to that Learned Book.

A

A Short Account of the *Dominican Hiſtory of* Ethiopia.

Compoſed by Father *Lewis De Uuretta*, a Dominican; and Printed at *Valentia* in the Year 1610.

IN the Year 1316, Eight Dominican Friars, with a Holy Siſter, *Santer'd* from *Rome* to *Jeruſalem*, where having Viſited the Holy Sepulcher, taking *Bethlehem* in their way, they went down into *Egypt*, and from thence to *Ethiopia*; and having there Learned the Language of the Countrey perfectly in a few days, they begun to preach to the Aſtoniſhment of that whole Empire, confirming the truth of all they taught by Miracles. Preſter *John* the Emperor hearing of thoſe wonderful Preachers, ſent to bid them welcome into his Empire, and to let them know they had free liberty to build Convents enough

therein to hold all *Europe*, and to exercise their power of *Inquisitors* upon all his Subjects; and that he would allow them all the same Privileges and Immunities that they enjoy in the *Latin* Church. The Fathers overjoy'd at this news, begun presently to make use of the liberty that was granted them; and having penetrated Six Hundred Leagues into *Ethiopia*, they came at last to the Lake of *Cafates*, on the other side of the *Equinoctial*, where the head of the River *Nile* riseth, where upon the Mountains of the Moon, and in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and among the *Caffres*, and in the Provinces bordering on the Cape of *Goodhope*, they built several Convents, filling them all presently with Friars of their own Order, most of which came afterwards to be as famous for their Learning and Piety as they were for their Miracles; but the topping man of all those Novices was one *Tecla Haymonot*, the only Child of King *Sacasab*, and Queen *Sarah*; who having wrought divers Miracles in his Infancy, when he came to be a Man preferred the Dominican habit to a Crown, and came afterwards to be the Chief Glory of his Order, having had the Honour done him, whenever he said *Mass*, to have the Wafer and the Wine brought down from Heaven to him by an Angel; and whenever he went to any City to Preach, he was constantly attended by all the Lyons, Tygers, Wolves, Snakes, and Serpents in the Neighbourhood, who never left him till he dismissed them with the blessing; for which they all expressed themselves very thankful; and who having founded a Monastery

naſtery for *Nine thouſand Dominican Friars*, obliged *the Devil* to do all the ſervile work thereof for Seven Years; which he did alone ſo exactly, that the Convent has never been ſo well ſerved ſince, which made an Emperor when he was told of it ſay, That *Tecla Hamonot was to blame, for not having made the Devil ſerve the Convent as long as it ſtood.* While the Friars were thus employed, the *Holy Siſter* was not idle, who as if ſhe had intended to have taken the Emperor at his word, built a Monaſtery, wherein ſhe placed Five Hundred Dominican *Benta's* of the third Rule. This great Nunnery was at firſt called *Bado Nagh*, but at this time *Santa Clara*; the Hiſtory of all which Convents is to this day curiouſly Painted in the Cloiſters of the *Plurimanos*, whither any, who are ſo unreaſonable as to doubt of the truth of them, may go and be ſatisfied.

The Monaſtery of *Plurimanos*, in which there are Nine thouſand Dominican Friars, was founded by *Tecla Haymonot*; It is four Leagues in Compaſs, and hath Eighty Dormitories, which have all the great Church at one end, and the Refectory at the other. Some of theſe Dormitories have One hundred and twenty, ſome One hundred and fifty, and ſome Two hundred Cells. Every Dormitory has a particular Chappel and Library belonging to it. The great Church is Six hundred paces long, and ſo it had need, ſince all the Friars repair to it together on Sundays and Holidays. The Second great Dominican Convent in *Ethiopia*, is that of the *Allelujah*, which

was built by *Bartholomew de Tiroli*, a Dominican Friar, who was Conſecrated Biſhop of the City of *Dangola* at *Rome*; it has but Seven thouſand Friars, who on high Days Dine all together in the Refectory.

From theſe two Convents, there are vaſt numbers of Miſſionaries ſent once a year to *Arabia*, *Bengala*, *Siam*, *Pegu* and *China*; as alſo to *Congo*, *Monopatata*, and the Cape of *Goodhope*, by ſome of which Miſſionaries the King of *Congo* and *Angola*, was Baptized in the Year 1580. Theſe Miſſionaries do all return home at *Whitſuntide*; and our Hiſtorian being ſenſible that that was more than fleſh and blood could well do, very diſcreetly prevents the objection, by telling us they came back nothing but Skin and Bone.

Theſe two Monaſteries have been the greateſt Seminaries of Martyrs that have ever been in the world, above Three hundred thouſand of their Friars having ſuffered Martyrdom in ſeveral parts, which is more than any other Order beſides the Dominicans can boaſt of. For in the Empreſs *Helena*'s time, who was her ſelf a Dominican *Beata*, Eight hundred Friars of the *Alelujah* alone ſuffered death in ſeveral Provinces for preaching the Goſpel; at which the good *Beata* was ſo much troubled, that ſhe ſent to all the Mahometan and Heathen Merchants that were within her Empire, to let them know that they ſhould Trade no longer in *Ethiopia*, if they did not take more care to preſerve her Friars lives in their Miſſions.

The

The Priors of these two Convents are by the Pope's Letter Constituted the *chief Inquitors* of *Ethiopia*, where the *Inquisition* is more rigorous than in *Spain*; for it relaxeth all Hereticks and Apostates to the Secular Arm for their first fault, though never so penitent; who being relaxed, are always thrown, without mercy, to the Lyons.

But the wonder of the world is the Emperor's Library founded by Queen *Saba*, upon the Mountain of *Amara*, where the Convent of the *holy Cross* stands; its Foundress handselled it with *Solomon*'s own Works, and the other Books he Presented her withal, among which are the Books of *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Job*, &c. And the Emperors have been ever since buying all the Books they could hear of to put into it; so that at present it contains above a Million of Books all very fairly written, and richly Bound, an hundred and Thirteen thousand of which are *Hebrew* and *Arabick*: Neither is there any Book whose loss is bewailed here in *Europe*, but what is to be met with there; of which *Gregory* the Thirteenth being informed, he sent *Antonio Grico* and *Lorenco Cremones* into *Ethiopia* to see whether that Library was so great and rich as it was reported to be; who having seen it, found it much greater than Fame had made it; and returning home, brought the *Talmud* and *Cabala* with them to compare them with those the *Jews* of *Italy* had in their hands. It is not very well stored with *Latin* Ecclesiastical Authors, having none of the Ancients, beside St. *Hierom* and Saint *Ambrose*, translated

into *Greek*, and St. *Auſtin* tranſlated into *Arabick*; and of the Moderns, only *Thomas Aquinas*, St. *Antonio*, the Directory of the Inquiſitors, and *Lewis de Granada*, who were all Dominicans; and if our Author ſent them his Hiſtory, the *Librarians*, who are Two hundred, if they did not give it one of the beſt places in their *Library*, were very unjuſt to him; ſince if it had not been for him, their *Library*, in all probability, had never been heard of in *Europe*; the two *unworthy men* who had been ſent to viſit it by *Gregory* the XIIIth. having made no noiſe at all of it when they returned. The Key of this Library, as of the Richeſt Treaſure in *Ethiopia*, is always put into the Emperor's hand when he is Crowned, who delivers it to the Abbot of the Monaſtery of *Sancta Cruz*, with a ſtrict charge to look carefully after it as the chief Jewel of his Empire.

The Emperor's Treaſury, which may very well be reckoned the ſecond, if not the firſt Wonder of the World, is upon the ſame Mountain, into which ever ſince Queen *Sheba*'s time, they have been amaſſing vaſt quantities of Gold and Silver, and Precious Stones, without having at any time taken one Farthing out; ſo that if the whole world were to be ſold, there is more Money in this Treaſury than would buy the Fee-ſimple of it.

Ethiopia has but Twelve Archbiſhops and Seventy two Biſhops; which ſmall number conſidering the vaſtneſs of the Empire, they cannot be perſuaded to increaſe, becauſe it repreſents

preſents that of the Twelve Apoſtles, and Seventy two Diſciples ; ſo in all their Cathedrals likewiſe, they have never more nor fewer than a Dean and Twelve Canons, who do all live in Community with their Biſhop, who has the whole Tithes of his Dioceſs ; when a Canon dies, he is ſucceeded by the Eldeſt Prieſt of the Dioceſs, and the Biſhop when he dies, by the Eldeſt Canon, and the Archbiſhop by the Eldeſt Biſhop of the Province ; the Eldeſt Archbiſhop is always the *Pope's Legat*, that Office having been annexed to that Dignity by *Clement* the VIIth. Beſides theſe they have a great number of Titular Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who are all named by the Emperor, Empow'red thereunto by ſeveral Popes Briefs. The Archbiſhops and Biſhops viſit their whole Provinces every Sixth year, whoſe Excommunications are ſo formidable, that none can deſpiſe them longer than they can faſt, ſuch as are Excommunicated not being ſuffered to eat or drink any thing before they have made their ſubmiſſion.

Their Churches, namely that of the *Allelujah*, which was built by Queen *Sheba* in imitation of *Solomon*'s Temple, in form of a Croſs, and is now Dedicated to St. *Humphrey* ; and that which was built by Queen *Candace* mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and Dedicated by her to the Virgin *Mary*, are exceſſively Rich and Magnificent, ſome of them having Three, ſome Five Naves, and all richly adorned with various Pictures and precious Stones, but chiefly Granata's.

As

As to the Doctrine of the *Habaſſin* Church, in all matters of Faith they are and were ever, or at leaſt ſince the time that the Eight Dominican Friars went among them, the very ſame with thoſe of the Church of *Rome*; all that has been reported within theſe Two hundred years by the *Jeſuits* and *Portugueſes* of their being Hereticks, being notoriouſly falſe.

The occaſion of which falſe Reports was as followeth:

Moſt of the Four hundred *Portugueſes* who went into *Ethiopia* with *Gama*, being *Jews* in their hearts, were not long there before imagining themſelves to be out of the reach of the Inquiſition, they openly profeſſed Judaiſm, to the great ſcandal of the *Portugueſe* Nation, but they quickly found themſelves deceived; for the *Dominican Inquiſitors* having heard of this *Apoſtacy*, did with great ſecrecy order them all to be apprehended by their *Familiars*; but the *Jews* having their *Familiars* too, our Author upon this occaſion affirming the whole race of them to *be all Magicians, and in Confederacy with the Devil*, made their eſcape before the *Inquiſition* or its *Familiars* could lay their hands on them, ſome of them running into the Kingdom of *Berno*; where notwithſtanding they taught the Natives how to make Gunpowder; it had been well that they had all gone, for then there would have been none left to have run to *Goa*, to have raiſed ſuch lyes of the *Habaſſins*, as thoſe who went thither did, who purely to juſtify themſelves, and to be revenged on the *Habaſſin*

Habaſſin Inquiſitors, reported that the *Habaſſins* were all *Mortal Enemies to the Pope and his Supremacy*, and did hold ſeveral Hereſies, which was the reaſon why they did not care to live amongſt them any longer. Here our Hiſtorian falls into a moſt violent fit of Railing againſt thoſe *Portugueſe* Jews, and for their ſake againſt their whole Race, calling them an *Impious*, *Cruel*, *Malicious*, *Peſtilent*, *Contagious*, *Infamous*, *Vile*, *Naſty*, *Loathſome Generation*; and at laſt deſires *all the Devils in Hell to fetch the whole Race of them*, for having dared to report ſuch impudent lies of an Empire that was much more Catholick than *France*, in having received both the Inquiſition, and the Council of *Trent*, which was what *France* could never yet be perſwaded to do; he likewiſe blames the old Chriſtians among the *Portugueſe* for having been ſo eaſy as to give Credit to ſuch malicious and groundleſs Reports; and as to what the Popes, and the Kings of *Portugal* have ſaid and done upon ſuppoſition of the *Habaſſins* being Enemies to the *Roman* Church, he ſaith, they had been miſerably impoſed upon by the ſtories which were raiſed by thoſe *Villanous Jews*; as they were alſo in the caſe of the Patriarch *Oviedo*, who at the ſame time that he was revoked by the Pope, becauſe there was no hopes of his doing any good in *Ethiopia*, by reaſon of the Emperor and the Peoples obſtinacy in the *Alexandrian* Faith, was reverenced by all the *Habaſſins* as a Saint, and beloved by them as a Father, and liſtned to as a wiſe Man, and reckoned as an Apoſtle

ſent

ſent by God to them; and was ſo far from being in Diſgrace with the Emperor, that he was Preſident of his *Latin* Council. It is true, the *Portugueſe* Patriarchs and Fathers having done ſeveral indiſcreet things, whereby they had diſobliged the *Habaſſin* Clergy, grew ſick of *Ethiopia* quickly, and returned to the *Indies*. The *Portugueſe*, ſaith he, being a People who cannot live long out of their own Country, or at leaſt from among their Countrymen; whereas Biſhop *Andre Oviedo* being a *Spaniard*, and one who weighed and conſidered things, would neither leave his Flock, nor quarrel with them about Trifles, and ſo lived and died in *Ethiopia* with great Honour, his Memory being precious amongſt them to this day; of the truth of which the Pope was quickly afterwards fully ſatisfied; for the *Habaſſins* of St. *Stephen*'s Colledge at *Rome*, underſtanding how their Church was miſrepreſented, ſent one of their Body immediately to acquaint the Emperor *Menna*, who ſucceeded *Claudius*, therewith; who was put into ſuch a Rage by the news of his being repreſented not to be a *Roman*-Catholick by the *Portugueſe* Jews, that he preſently made a Law, prohibiting all *Portugueſe* upon pain of Death to come into *Ethiopia* without a Certificate of their being *Old Chriſtians*, from the Inquiſitions of *Lisbon* and *Goa*: He writ alſo immediately to *Goa*, *Lisbon*, and *Rome*, to diſabuſe thoſe Courts, and to let them know, that none but raſcally Jews would have had the Impudence to have reported, That he and his Empire were not true *Roman* Catholicks: He writ alſo to the Colledge

Colledge of Cardinals, and particularly to the Protector of his Empire, obliging his Council of State to do the same, with passionate Declarations of their great Zeal for the *Roman* Faith; and to give the Pope yet further satisfaction, he made a new Submission of himself and his Empire to him. *Alexander* the Third, who succeeded *Menna* in the Empire, reckoning that his Predecessor had not done enough in sending only one Ambassador to the Pope, sent an Embassy to *Rome*, which consisted of Twenty four Priests, and Two Gentlemen, to yield Obedience in his Name to the Holy See.

So much of the Dominican History of *Ethiopia*. In which, though it is an *Octavo* of 1130 odd Pages, and a small Print, there is not one syllable of truth from the beginning to the end; yet notwithstanding that, I do not know that I ever saw an History in any Language that had more of the Magisterial Air of Truth in it, the Author seeming every where to value himself extreamly upon his Fidelity, and his care of setting down nothing without being first well assured of its Truth; appealing constantly to Authentick Records, though a great way off, for such falshoods as had the least of the Colours of Truth in them; insomuch, that in the beginning of his Book, he saith with the greatest assurance imaginable, *That none could doubt of the truth of any thing he had reported in his History, but* Scepticks, *who called the truth of all things into question*; as in another place he reflects severely upon the

the Jesuits, *Maffenis* and *Mariana*, accusing them both of not having had that sacred regard for Truth in their Writings, which all who write Histories ought to have; and as if he had a mind to impose his Fictions upon God, as well as Man, for Truths, he concludes his Legend of the Lives of several *Habassin* Dominican Saints, some of which we have reason to believe were never in Nature, or if they were, were undoubtedly neither Dominicans, nor Papists, with the following Prayers to them.

MOST *Glorious, Illustrious, and Holy Saints, who being now in the Cœlestial Palaces, cloathed with Robes of Immortality, do enjoy the clear Vision of the most Holy Trinity; and being disarmed of your bodily Weapons, wherewith you fought so manfully in the World, are now seated under the Shades of the Victorious Palms, and of the Triumphant Laurel, in the Pavillions and Tabernacles of Glory; Pardon me all my Faults; pardon all my Errors; pardon my weak Capacity; pardon the Injury I have done the height of your Triumph, worthy of all Immortal Trophy, by my rude Pen; and pray for us, O most Glorious Saints, who in Company of the Angelical Spirits, and in the Cœlestial Quire of God, do Sing the* Sanctus *of the Mass of the most Holy Trinity, and are perpetually employed in the Praises of God; pardon the unpolishedness, shortness, and grossness of my Tongue, your Prowesses being so Great, your Works so Heroick, and your Victory so Glorious, that nothing but the Tongues of Angels are fit to celebrate them. Pray for us, O high exalted Princes, who do*

do live as Grandees in the Palace of the King of Glory, and are as Cavaliers of the Golden Key in the Cabinet of God, being always in his Presence. Pardon that little that I have writ of your Feats, your Glories being so great that no Pen, without it be taken from the Wings of Archangels, is fit to celebrate them. Pray for us. Most Glorious Stars of Heaven, most Resplendent Meteors of the Earth, Golden Artizans of the Church, and the bright Light of the Predicant Order, *who out of the Pulpits did astonish the World like Thunder, confounding Hereticks and Pagans, and converting Souls to God. Pardon me, if the brightness of your Virtues is eclipsed by the little I have said of them, and pray for us. Apostolical Preachers, who are in Glory about the Father of Light, pardon me if your Travels, Missions, Peregrinations, Sermons, and Labours, Virtues and Prodigies, or if the Glory of your Glory is not aggrandized as it ought to be. And pray for us, Valiant Martyrs, who with your Blood confirmed the Truth of the Gospel, conquered Tyrants, triumphed over Wild Beasts, and with your hands full of Palms, and your Heads crowned with Laurels are entered into the Palaces of Heaven; pardon my Ignorance, and pray for us.*

Sacred Virgins, shining Religious, the Glory of the World, the Honour of Heaven, the Beauty of Humane Nature, and the singular Ornaments of the Order of St. Dominick, *pardon all the Defects of this Book, in relation to your Praises, and pray for us.* Amen.

After this studied Prayer, (which is a sufficient Indication of the Romantick Genius of the

the Man) he, imagining I ſuppoſe, that Proteſtants, notwithſtanding all his Apologies, and begging of Pardons for having ſaid ſo little of his Heroes, would not be ſo civil as to believe one half of what he has ſaid of them, falls foul upon them, and thanks God that he did not write theſe things to *Luther* and *Calvin*, or any other *excommunicated Hereticks*, who do *ignorantly*, *brutally*, *raſhly*, *and blaſphemouſly deny* the profitable Interceſſion of the moſt glorious Saints with God; but to moſt Catholick *Spaniards*, whoſe *Credulity* having never been tainted with the Hereſies of their Neighbours of *France* and *England*, he hoped would ſwallow his Book of Prodigies without chewing; and eſpecially coming recommended to them by all its Licenſes, as a Book of *wonderful Edification* to *all pious Souls*, moſt of them vouching likewiſe for *the truth* of it.

Its Licenſers and Vouchers being no leſs Men, than *Don Bataſar de Boria*, Doctor of Law, Archdeacon of *Xativa*, Canon of the Church of *Valentia*, and Vicar-General and Official of the Archbiſhoprick of *Valentia*. *Juan Paſqual*, Rector of the Church of St. *Martin*, and Licenſer of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and Archbiſhop of *Valentia*. Fryar *Raphael Riphez*, Prior Provincial of the *Dominicans* in the Kingdom of *Arragon*. Fryar *Lupero de Huette*, and Fryar *Jeronymo Mos*, Licenſers of the Tribunal of the *Holy Office of the Inquiſition*; who do all in their Licenſes give great Commendations, both to this Hiſtory and its Author.

But

But this History having been written chiefly to blast the rising Reputation of the Jesuits, and the credit of all their Reports; its having so many, and so great *Vouchers* for its Truth, and the *Master of the Sacred Palace* likewise, to whom it is Dedicated, for its Patron, was not enough to hinder the Jesuits from exposing it, so soon as ever it crept out of its cell, to the world in its true colours; whole Battalions of them falling upon it at once at such an unmerciful rate, that, as I have been told, they made the *Dominicans* so much ashamed of this Romance, which they had endeavoured to have obtruded upon the world for a true History, that they have laboured ever since to get all the Copies of it into their hands to destroy them; for which reason I shall do all that I can to preserve that which I have, *by giving it to a Library, which, next to that of the Emperor of* Ethiopia's, *is the greatest in the World.*

But this is not the only pious fraud the *Dominicans* have miscarried in after having promised their Order great honour from them; but above all is that of the Nun at *Lisbon*, the History whereof I shall here set down more at length, than I have seen it any where in one Book.

History of the *Lisbon* Nun, called *Maria* of the *Annunciation.*

Maria, of the *Annunciation*, was Born at *Lisbon*, and at the age of Thirteen was put into the *Dominican* Convent of the *Annunciation* in that City; in which, so soon as she was of age to do it, she professed her self a Nun; which she had not done long, before she begun to have *Miraculous Visions*, and to be daily visited by *Christ in Person*;

whom she still saluted with the Doxology thus, *Glory be to the Father, and to Thee, and to the Holy Spirit.* Whenever she received the Sacrament, her Soul was in a Rapture, and was honoured with the Vision of the Heavenly Coire of Angels; and when she embraced the *Crucifix*, which she still called her *Husband*, it constantly darted out beams of Light much brighter and stronger than those of the Sun.

One day as she was at her Devotion, Christ appeared to her, and made her a promise to visit her again upon St. *Thomas Aquinas*'s day, and thereon to do her the greatest honour that any Creature was capable of.

Maria having acquainted *Antonio de la Cerda*, the Provincial of her Order, who upon her Name being so high for Miracles, was become her Confessor, with the Promise had been made her, she was directed by him how to prepare her self for the reception of so great a favour; whose Directions she punctually observed, for never was any creature more submissive to a Confessor.

Thomas Aquinas's day being come, and all the Nuns and Friars being assembled to Mattins, while *Maria* was in a most profound fit of Devotion, Christ Crucified appeared to her; and in the sight of the whole Congregation, printed all the Wounds of his Head, Side, Hands, and Feet, upon the same parts of her Body; she had Two and thirty Wounds (such as Thorns use to make) on her Head, and in her Side a Gash

a Gash that resembled a Wound made with a Spear, and on her Hands and Feet the Wounds were of a Triangular Figure, as if made by a Nail; and in order to excite the Devotion of the absent as well as present, the *Rags* she laid to the Wounds on *Thursdays*, had always the *Five Wounds of Christ* printed on them in the form of a Cross; and happy was the Roman Catholick Prince or Princess who could obtain some of those Sacred Rags. The Pope he had one, and the King of *Spain*, who was strangely devoted to her, had another; and the Empress had one sent her against she lay in; neither was there a Roman Catholick Prince or Princess in *Europe*, but what had obtained one of them by some interest or other. *Paramus*, in his History of the Inquisition, saith, *That he being at that time an Inquisitor in* Sicily, *saw one of them which had been sent to the Viceroy* Don Henrique de Gusman's *Lady*, *who*, he saith, *adored it as the most Sacred Relick in the World.* And *Philip* the II^d. to satisfie the World that he firmly believed all that was reported of the Sanctity and Miracles of the *Lisbon* Nun, had the *Royal Standard* of the *Armada*, which came against *England* in the year 1588. Blessed by her.

The Inquisition, whose business it is to enquire severely into the truth of things which are reported to be Miracles, having summoned her Confessor, and all the rest

of the Friars who belonged to the Convent, to appear before them, was fully satisfied by their Depositions and Oaths, as Eye-Witnesses, of the Truth of the whole matter, as it was reported. Whereupon *Gregory* the XIII^th^. writ her a very Godly Letter, exhorting her to Humility, Thankfulness, and Perseverance in her Devotions; and as there was no Roman Catholick that did in the least doubt of the truth of what was reported of her by her Confessor, who published a large account of her Miracles; So the poor Protestants were triumphed over strangely on that occasion, as the most perverse Hereticks that ever were in the World, for neither *believing those reports, nor going to* Lisbon *where their own eyes would convince them of the truth of them.* So *Petrus Matheus* in a Bullary he Printed in *France* at this time, and which I have now by me, after a long *encomium* of the *Lisbon* Nun, adds, *Nihil est quod possit hujus Historiæ veritati inficiari, vivit enim beata Virgo vivunt Sorores testes, locus visitur, & clarissimorum Theologorum* Oculato testimonio *probatur & confirmatur*: that is, *Nothing can be offered in contradiction to this story, for the blessed Virgin is still living, as are the Sisters also who are her Witnesses; the Place is visited, and the whole is prov'd and confirmed by most eminent Divines, who were Eye-Witnesses to it.* After all this, one would little have expected that this fraud could have miscarried, or at least so far as to have been Owned

and

and Condemn'd as a meer Cheat, by the Inquiſition it ſelf: But ſo it was; for the *Lady Abbeſs* (which for her greater Mortification the Nuns and Friars had forced her to be) when ſhe wanted nothing but to have *Died* to have been *Canonized* a Saint for her extraordinary Piety and Miracles, finding all that ſhe ſaid was received by every body as an Oracle; ſhe begun to mutter, That it was revealed to her that *Philip* the II^d. had no Title to the Crown of *Portugal*, but that the right thereof was in the Ducheſs of *Braganza*: The conſequence whereof being, That *Philip* muſt either reſign that Crown, or the Title of the *Moſt Catholick*, or look upon her, he had expreſs'd ſo great a veneration for, as an Impoſtor; he choſe the latter; the Inquiſition ſtriking the Oracle Dumb ſo ſoon as it began to *Antiphilipiſe*: For the Inquiſition having thereupon ordered her Wounds, and other Pretenſions, to be ſearched to the bottom, they were at it quickly; her Wounds being found not to lye ſo deep as her Skin; and upon examination to be nothing elſe but marks made thereon very artificially with *Red Lead*. Whereupon ſhe was Condemned by the Archbiſhop of *Braga* and *Lisbon*, the Biſhop of *Guarda*, and the Apoſtolical Inquiſitors, of whom at that time the Cardinal Archduke of *Auſtria* was the Chief, as an *Hypocrite* and *Impoſtor*, upon the Eighth day of *December* 1588. being in the Thirty ſecond Year of her

The Impoſtor diſcovered.

her Age, to the following Penances.

Her Penances assigned.

1st. She was to be a Prisoner during her Life, in some Nunnery out of *Lisbon*, and which must not be of the Dominican Order.

2d. For Five years after the day of her Sentence, she was not to have the Sacrament Administred to her, excepting on the Feasts of *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and *Christmas*, or unless the receiving thereof should happen to be necessary to the partaking of the Benefits of a Jubilee.

3d. On every *Wednesday* and *Friday* of the Year she was to be brought into the Chapter-house of the Nunnery, and there to be Whipped publickly before all the Nuns, all the time the *Miserere Mei Deus* was Reading.

4th. At Meals she was not to be suffered to sit at a Table, but must have her Meat given her sitting on the Pavement of the *Refectory*; neither must any Person eat what she leaves; and both before and after Meat she must lie a-cross the door of the Refectory, where the Nuns must tread upon her as they come in and go out.

5th. She must, during her Life, keep the *Ecclesiastical Fast*, and must never be chose *Abbess*, nor bear any *Office* in the Nunnery, but must always be the *Lowest* in the Convent.

6th. She

6th. She must not be suffered to speak with any Body within, nor without the Convent, without the Abbess's Leave.

7th. All the Rags stained with Blood which had been distributed by her, and all her false Relicks, and all Pictures of her, must be brought into the Inquisition; or where that cannot be done conveniently, must be carried to the next Prelate.

Lastly, She must never be suffered to cover her Head with her Veil; and on all *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* of the Year, must be Fed with nothing but Bread and Water; and must every day in the Refectory make a publick Confession of her Crime before all the Nuns.

Unhappy Nun! had'st thou but let alone Princes Titles, and had'st made no other use of thy Impostures, but to have confounded *Protestants* and their *Doctrines*, thou might'st have died with the Honour of thy Wounds, and have been Worshipped upon an Altar, and have wrought a Thousand Miracles before this time; and that very Court which condemned thee to all these shameful Punishments for pretending to them, would have Condemned all of Impiety and Heresie who should have presumed to have called the Truth of any of them in question!

I could never learn what was done to the Provincial her Confessor, and the other Friars, among whom was the great *Lewis de Granada*, for having imposed such a Cheat on

on the Pope, the Inquisition, and the whole Roman Catholick World; however, it is plain from the first Penance mentioned in the Sentence, that the King of *Spain* did not care to trust so dangerous a Tool any longer in the hands of the *Dominican* Friars.

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